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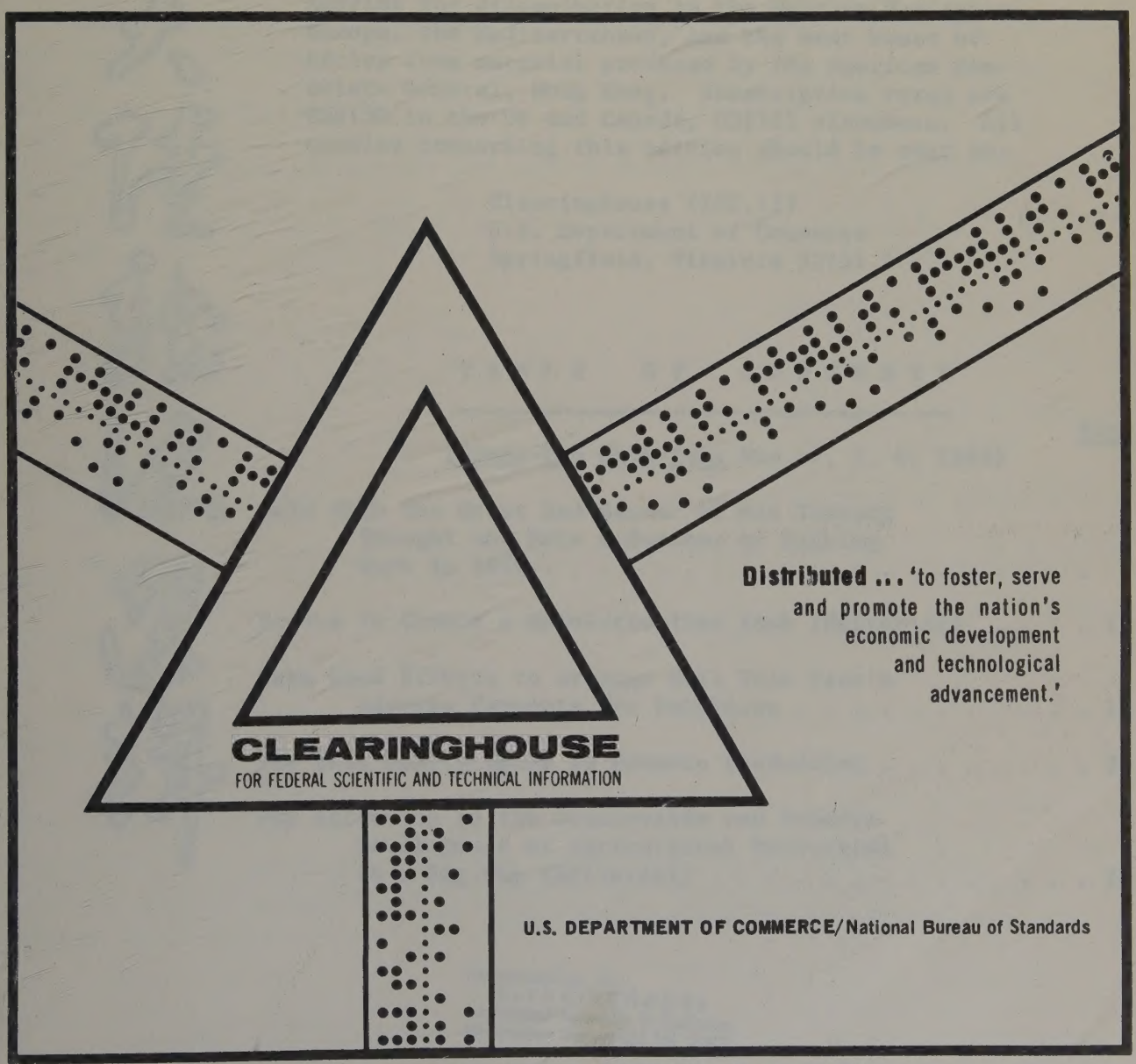
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Hold High the Great Red Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought and Make a Success of Banking Work in 1966

-- People's Bank and Agricultural Bank Held Joint National Conference of Branch Directors

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 1, January 9, 1966)

(Our own despatch) From December 2 to 30, 1965, the Chinese People's Bank and the Chinese Bank of Agriculture jointly convened a National Conference of Branch Directors.

The conference held high the red banner of Mao Tsetung and made politics command bank work, placing emphasis mainly on the solution of ideological problems and problems of orientation.

The comrades present studied Chairman Mao's works seriously. With a full comprehension of Chairman Mao's thinking, with their ideological understanding raised and with the prevailing situation in view, they examined the positions of banks in various areas as politics is put to the fore, and the implementation of relevant policies, measures and viewpoints since the National Conference on Political Work in Finance and Trade held in February and the Working Conference on Finance and Trade held in May 1965. After making clear the orientation of bank work during the period of the Third Five-Year Plan, they concentrated on discussion of banking work and major points of emphasis in 1966.

During the conference, Premier Chou En-lai and other leaders of the Party and State received the delegates. This was a tremendous encouragement to the cadres in the entire banking system. Comrade Yao I-lin (姚依林), Assistant Director of the Finance and Trade Office of the State Council and Director of the Political Department on Finance and Trade of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, delivered an important report at the conference.

The conference followed the procedures of having the advanced units lead the average units, combining the leadership with the masses, combining speeches at plenary sessions with group discussions, and combining the making of reports with the searching for gaps [between the advanced and the backward].

This helped everyone at the conference make revolution self-consciously and advance continuously.

During the conference, delegates of some basic-level advanced units and advanced workers spoke of their experiences in making creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, in correctly implementing relevant policies, measures and viewpoints, and in penetratingly unfolding the movement for comparing with, learning from, catching up with the advanced and helping those lagging behind.

The delegates to the conference felt tremendously enlightened. They felt the situation was pressing on them: "The young fighters are challenging us." Many expressed their determination to "acquire the will of the Foolish Old Man and to learn from, catch up with and overtake the advanced."

The Situation and the Tasks

Comrades at the conference unanimously agreed that the situation facing them was a favorable one. In 1965, the Chinese people, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, had made colossal achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The socialist education movement was developing in depth both in the cities and the countryside. An overall upsurge was rising in industrial and agricultural production. The market was brisk and prices were stable while the people's living standards improved further. A favorable situation, never before seen, had appeared in the entire national economy. A new high tide in production and construction was taking shape.

The conference pointed out that the year 1965 was also a year in which relatively great progress was made in banking work. Under the leadership of the local Party committees, banks at various levels had made energetic efforts in implementing the spirit of the National Conference on Political Work in Finance and Trade held in February and the Working Conference on Finance and Trade held in May, in putting politics to the fore, in carrying out the "four firsts" policy, in studying Chairman Mao's works with vigor, in learning from the Liberation Army, and in criticizing the purely business viewpoint and ideas of self-complacency and conceit, stagnation, content with the status quo, and indifference to progress. They had thus further revolutionized the thinking of the broad masses of workers and staff members and the banking work.

Large numbers of advanced units and advanced personnel had emerged in various areas. They put politics to the fore, engaged in creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, and positively served production and the livelihood of the people. The work of banks was further oriented toward production, the rural areas and the masses, and had played a significant role in supporting the upsurge of industrial and agricultural production as well as in organizing the economic life of the people.

The conference observed that although banking work had made considerable progress during the past year, it nevertheless had not coped with the needs of the developing situation. In the banking system, units which had firmly placed political work above all work were still few; among the cadres the purely business viewpoint still remained strong; and the relevant policies, measures and viewpoints had not yet been universally and penetratingly applied to work. Leadership was more or less generalized, management of funds remained unsatisfactory, and the existing rules and regulations were not yet wholly compatible with the new overall upsurge of the national economy. Serious efforts are necessary to improve all this.

According to the policies of the Third Five-Year Plan and the tasks of the National Economic Plan for 1966, banks in 1966 must continue to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, take the class struggle and

the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road as the lever, and seriously carry out the guiding idea of the Third Five-Year Plan. They must stand fast to the policies, measures, and viewpoints formulated.

Banks must be operated in the interest of the revolution; they must put politics to the fore, orient themselves toward the rural areas, contribute to the production-increase and austerity movement, and through doing a good job of inventories, account settlements and other banking operations, support the socialist construction and promote a sustained upsurge of industrial and agricultural production.

The conference stressed that the tasks for banks in 1966 were stupendous and a great deal of work had to be done. But the most important thing to do was to put politics to the fore, place Mao Tsetung thought in command, let politics command bank work, and resolutely eradicate the purely business viewpoint and such state of mentality as complacency, lethargy, remaining content with the status quo, and indifference to progress. We must strive hard to create revolutionized banks.

The conference called on the cadres and staff members and workers of the banking system to recognize that as long as imperialism existed, there was the danger of war, that US imperialism was stepping up its war of aggression against Vietnam, planning new plots for expanding the war, and continuing to carry out military provocations against our country. If US imperialism should insist on imposing war on the Chinese people, we must resolutely rise to fight them through to the end. To cope with aggression by US imperialism, we must seriously make all necessary preparations, political and ideological preparations in the first place, use Mao Tsetung thought to arm every cadre and staff member and urge them to study Comrade Wang Chieh's revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death" and overcome ideas of lethargy.

The conference pointed out that this was a question of whether or not we dare make revolution, a major question relating to the security of our country and the revolutionary movement of the world's people. As such, it must be dealt with seriously.

Put Politics to the Fore and Promote Revolutionization of Bank Work

The conference was resolved that banks in various localities in 1966 must continue to carry out the spirit of the National Political Work on Finance and Trade in February 1965, learn from the PLA vigorously, put politics to the fore firmly, implement the four-first policy, promote the 3-8 working style energetically, and strongly criticize the purely business viewpoint and ideas such as complacency, lethargy, remaining content with the status quo, and indifference to progress. They must firmly put political work first. To place political work first is to place Mao Tsetung thought first and to put the Party's lines, guidelines and policies first. Making a success of creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works is the central link in strengthening political work in 1966.

The conference stressed that creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, grasping living ideas vigorously, and promoting the revolutionization of cadres' thinking were basic questions. It was essential to take Chairman Mao's works as supreme directives for our work in all fields and to use Mao Tsetung thought to command our entire operations. It was necessary to stress the making of hard efforts at "application" and to use Mao Tsetung thought to solve all kinds of practical and ideological problems. It was necessary to educate the cadres to set up the idea of dedicating themselves to the revolution, doing everything for the revolution, operating banks for the sake of the revolution, and practicing basic skills for the revolution. It was imperative to foster advanced units and personnel in creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works and to bring about a higher upsurge in the study of Chairman Mao's works.

The conference emphatically pointed out that the key to making a success of study and application of Chairman Mao's works rested with the leadership. Moreover, it made four demands on the leading cadres: First, they must take the lead in studying and applying Chairman Mao's works, and use Mao Tsetung thought to transform their ideology and improve their work. Secondly, they must properly organize study of Chairman Mao's works in units level by level, with one level leading the other. Thirdly, they must create and establish good examples for the leading cadres' study of Chairman Mao's works. Fourthly, when checking on cadres and training new-born forces, they should first of all look at the state of their study of Chairman Mao's works.

At the same time, it was necessary to take the class struggle and the struggle between the two roads as the lever. Under the leadership of Party committees at various levels, the socialist education movement in banks and credit cooperatives must be carried out in a down-to-earth manner. Banks at various levels, particularly basic-level operating units, must step up regular class education, raise the class consciousness of their staff members and workers, and be on the alert against the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between two kinds of thinking, and between two kinds of business style.

In 1966 it is necessary to continue to exert strenuous efforts at carrying out the relevant policies, measures, and viewpoints and acting on the action slogans. It is essential to implement the relevant policies, measures and viewpoints at the first line of business operation and in the business activities of all cadres. It is necessary to continue to oppose vigorously the purely business viewpoint, first of all the purely business viewpoint of leadership at various levels.

The conference pointed out that the purely business viewpoint came from the old thinking and styles of capitalist banks, from the bad influence of revisionism. The struggle for putting politics to the fore and against the purely business viewpoint is a struggle for fostering proletarian ideas and eliminating capitalist ones in the banking system, a struggle between two kinds of ideas, two kinds of working styles and two roads in banking work. With regard to such serious political struggle, whoever wavers or is totally unconcerned will make political blunders.

Banks in various places must vigorously develop the mass movement for comparing with, learning from, catching up with the advanced and helping those lagging behind. Leading cadres at various levels must personally work at specific points, grasp typical examples, and set up models. They must seriously organize and popularize the advanced experiences of their own areas and other areas. They must find out not only the advanced but also the backward units, and enable advanced units and advanced workers to emerge in large numbers.

With requirements for five-good units and six-good staff members and workers as criteria, inspections and evaluations must be carried out at periodical intervals, so that good people and good deeds may be commended in time and the experiences continue to be summed up and improved. At the same time, attention must be given to coordination between labor and rest so as to insure constant and healthy development of the movement.

In order to give prominence to politics, it is essential to strive for the revolutionization of administrative structure. Banks in various areas must seriously carry out the policy of "better troops and simplified administration." It is necessary to strengthen work at the basic levels. While leading organs must put the stress on the rural areas, leading cadres must go to the basic level to stay at selected points, to labor with the people there, to conduct investigation and research conscientiously, and to help in a practical manner basic-level units raise their political and professional levels. Attention must be paid to the cultivation and promotion of new-born forces and to strengthening the training of cadres by rotation.

Put the Stress on Rural Areas, Provide All-Out Support for Agricultural Production

The conference observed that supporting agriculture was the focus of banking work, and that only by developing agricultural production would it be possible to insure smooth fulfillment of the Third Five-Year Plan, strengthen our capacity to resist and prepare for natural disasters, and better consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. Provincial banks, central bank branches, hsien branches, and business offices must put support for agriculture in the primary position in their work. Hsien branches must devote 90 percent of their forces to the work of aiding agriculture and take all possible effective measures to provide more direct aid to agricultural production.

The conference believed to support agriculture would require repeated propagation and serious implementation of the policy of relying on the Tachai spirit, the Party policies and the activism of the five hundred million peasants. It was necessary to adhere to the policy of "placing the main emphasis on the self-reliance of communes and taking aid from the State as the supplement" when it came to the allocation of funds for agricultural production and construction. It was also essential to carry forward with the revolutionary spirit of working hard and living frugally, working with practical results, working hard while spending less, and working skillfully. It was only on this basis, plus state aid in form of funds and material supplies, that agricultural production would be developed with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

In 1966, financial work in the rural areas is centered on promoting the Tachai spirit, good management and application of funds the state allocates in support of agriculture, giving help to the communes and teams and agricultural enterprises, aiding capital construction on the farms, and facilitating agricultural production in an effort to achieve still better farm harvests. While giving support to grain and cotton production, attention must be paid to supporting the development of sideline productions in the rural areas and to the implementation of the policy of "taking agriculture as the main occupation, supporting agriculture with sideline production, and undertaking multiple operations" with a view to increasing the income of both the collective and the commune members.

Good management and applications of funds in support of agriculture is the focus of financial work in the rural areas. Banks in various areas must closely relate their work to the central work of the Party and take the initiative to serve it. In the light of plans put forward by the provincial, district and hsien Party committees for capital construction on the farms and for the development of agricultural and subsidiary production, they must work out unified arrangements for rational allocation and suitable application of appropriations, loans, and deposits for purchase orders, while giving consideration to the other general aspects of work. Moreover, they must uphold the principle of "making sure that materials are in stock, the materials are applicable and are welcomed by the masses and practical results are achieved." They make the fullest possible use of various funds in support of agriculture. In the course of work, they must give attention to assisting production teams which are beset with difficulties in restoring and developing production and helping the poor and lower-middle peasants solve their problems of production and livelihood. In the work of extending agricultural credits, attention must be paid to overcoming favoritism and to upholding the principle that money borrowed must be paid back.

The work of fiscal appropriations and supervision should be centered on good management of appropriated funds for capital construction in water conservation and for state-owned agricultural enterprises in border regions and coastal areas. It is necessary to go to the units to take part in planning, to examine the budgets for construction, to make sure funds are available, to assist in tapping potentials, and to unfold the production-increase and economy movement so as to insure that construction projects are completed (with the necessary ancillary equipment installed), on schedule and put in operation in time. Agricultural enterprises and business undertakings must be run satisfactorily.

The conference pointed out that taking over the work of giving guidance to the accountants of communes and teams is not only a technical task but, what is more important, a political task and task on human relations having a bearing on the mobilization of activism of the broad masses of peasants and on the consolidation of the collective economy. Through this work it was possible to ascertain the state of production and financial activities in communes and teams, to strengthen the relations between state banks and communes and teams, to provide still better assistance to the commune and teams in implementing the policy of operating communes through industriousness, economy and self-reliance, and to more effectively manage

the funds allotted by the State in aid of agriculture. We must resolutely carry out the decisions of the State and take over the work of giving guidance to the accountants of communes and teams in a positive, well-prepared and planned way. The conference proposed that in general areas the reform of the accounting system be basically completed this winter or next spring, or the winter and spring of the year after next, that in areas where economic activities are relatively complicated, such as areas which grow economic crops or which have achieved a relatively high standard of mechanization, electrification, chemicalization and water conservation construction, experiments should be conducted first so that popularization may follow the summing up of experiences.

The conference called on the various localities to operate credit cooperatives more successfully. The key to this lies in successful consolidation of communes in the course of the socialist education movement. In those brigades where credit centers had not been established, these must be positively set up during the initial stage of the socialist education movement. In those brigades where credit centers had not been established, these must be positively set up during the initial stage of the socialist education movement. In principle, every brigade is required to be a credit center where personnel, while doing their work, are also engaged in farming. On this basis, through experiments, a part-work, part-farming system may be gradually set up in credit cooperatives.

It is necessary to continue to run hsien federation of credit cooperatives on an experimental basis. Trial operation of hsien federation of credit cooperatives must be approved by the provincial, municipal or autonomous regional people's councils. In adjusting the allocation of funds for credit cooperatives, a hsien federation of credit cooperatives must obtain the approval of the Agricultural Bank.

Banks in various areas must also turn to the rural areas in their industrial and commercial credit work. In the light of the needs of agricultural production, they should grasp the key enterprises and assist them in producing and supplying the means of production for agriculture and the means of livelihood. In this connection, advanced experiences of Hukuan, Ch'ich'uan and other places must be positively popularized.

Actively Support the Production-Increase and Economy Movement in All Trades and Occupations, Economize on Fluid Capital, and Support Production

In 1966 a mass production-increase and economy movement will be created in various areas and departments in the country, as this will be the key to further successes in production and construction in 1966.

The conference held that banks must support production on the one hand and economize on their fluid capital on the other during the production-increase and economy movement. To increase production is our goal and to

economize on funds is for the purpose of giving more effective support to production. The practice of industry and economy is a long-term, fundamental policy for our country's socialist construction. To practice economy severely and to oppose waste is not merely an economic question but also a question of struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road and for the prevention of revisionism.

To support production and to develop commodity circulation is a basic task of banks. In this connection, it is necessary to further develop the spirit of taking the initiative in 1966, and to go to the enterprises and places of production to conduct investigations and studies. In the light of the policies and plans of the State and the actual requirements of enterprises, it is essential to arrange in time for funds in support of industrial production.

Where funds are required for the reprocessing of materials accumulated in stock in an enterprise so that these materials may be used or sold, the banks should provide the needed loans. The banks may provide loans to those production units with an independent accounting system, which have their own funds, and whose personnel are engaged in part-time work and part-time studies--units which turn out products of high quality and have buyers for their products and which can obtain their own raw materials.

It is necessary to actively assist commercial departments in expanding their purchasing and marketing systems and doing a good job of commodity supplies, and in the recovery and utilization of used and waste materials. They must support foreign trade departments in procuring export commodities and penetratingly implement the policy on overseas Chinese remittances.

The conference emphatically pointed out that banks in various localities must actively take part in the work of checking on equipment, checking on material supplies, and checking on fluid capital--that is, the "three-check" work. Banks in various places must, under the unified leadership of local Party and government organs, organize personnel in charge of credit, planning, storage and allocation of funds to take part in the "three-check" work. In this work, they must appropriately carry out investigations and studies on the basis of each system and each trade and occupation in order to help the enterprises implement plans, make sure the availability of funds, dig up their potentialities, and must also help them in making use of surpluses and meeting deficits in the allotted funds. It is necessary to make full use of banks' extensive outside contacts in assisting enterprises in readjusting the supply of materials, handling accumulated stocks, lowering the consumption of materials, reducing their own use of materials, improving their management and operation, and lowering the circulation expenses.

To deal with problems found in the "three-check" work, banks must, on the one hand, assist enterprises in perfecting their systems, fully promote the experiences which had proven their worth in the past, and rely on those

who use cash to look after the cash and rely on the masses to look after the funds. On the other hand, they must sum up experiences, improve work in time, and raise the standard of credit work.

Banks in various places must make a success of the comprehensive reporting service. They must seriously carry out investigation and research on the market and the currency in circulation. They must promptly issue comprehensive reports and further strengthen supervision over the wage funds.

The conference pointed out that banks in various areas must continue to reform rules and regulations, try the clearing system with receipts and disbursements, and simplify the accounting procedures and cashier system of the business offices and branch offices. They must study ways of organizing commodity circulation according to economic regions, meet the requirements of industrial complexes, improve the credit settlement system, and assist enterprises in further digging up potentialities for increase of production and practice of economy.

The conference held that savings work was an important task of banks for supporting the production-increase and economy movement. As the national economy develops further, savings work offers great possibilities. It is necessary to continue to give full scope to the vital role of savings work in fostering the social customs of industry and economy, in organizing the economic livelihood of the people, and in accumulating construction funds for the State. It is necessary to actively publicize the policies of building the nation and running one's home with industry and economy and to relate savings work to the political and ideological work carried out by the administrative organs, factories and mines and neighborhood organizations for the workers, staff members and residents. In this way, savings work can be made to serve the organization of the people's economic life.

From now on in savings work it is necessary to further implement the mass line, to further organize mutual aid and cooperation among the masses with regard to funds, to continue to cooperate closely with the various related departments, and to organize mutual-aid savings associations of neighborhood organizations, organs, and enterprises in cities and towns. With the approval of local Party and government authorities, it is possible to set up credit cooperatives at selected points on a trial basis in cities, further explore the experiences in the organization of production and livelihood among the people, more satisfactorily solve the temporary difficulties facing the masses in production and living, and deal more striking blows at usurers.

Operate Banks for the Revolution, Operate Banks in the Revolutionary Spirit, and Operate Revolutionized Banks

The conference pointed out that revolutionized banks must first realize the ideological revolutionization of their personnel, put Mao Tsetung

thought in command, and solidly set up the revolutionary outlook on life. Bank personnel must dedicate themselves to the revolution, do everything for the revolution, and acquire good basic skills for the sake of the revolution. They must be both Red and expert so as to attain a very high degree of proletarianization and militancy. Secondly, they must have a revolutionized attitude toward work and follow the Party's three major styles of work--linking theory with reality, maintaining close ties with the masses, and making criticism and self-criticism. They must learn from the 3-8 style of the PLA and promote the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. Thirdly, they must revolutionize their work, seriously implement the relevant policies, measures and viewpoints, and serve the three major revolutions--class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. Fourthly, they must revolutionize their systems. Rules and regulations must be made to reflect fully the Party's guidelines and policies, suit our country's conditions, and be conducive to production and to the masses. A revolutionized bank is not only an economic work team but also a political work team and a mass work team.

The conference called on workers and staff members in the entire banking system to raise high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, work hard and live frugally in order to bring about greater results. Everyone of them must self-consciously operate the bank for the revolution, operate it in the revolutionary spirit, and turn it into a revolutionized bank.

* * *

Strive to Create a Revolutionized Bank

- Editorial -

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 1, January 9, 1966)

To hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, to work hard to gain new strength, to have everyone self-consciously run banks for the revolution, and to build revolutionized banks in the revolutionary spirit--such is a militant call put forward by the recent National Conference of Branch Directors to the workers and staff members of the entire banking system.

One of the tools for our country's proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, the Chinese People's Bank has grown up in the course of revolutionary struggle over the years, developed and expanded along with the development of the revolution, and has a glorious revolutionary tradition of its own.

During the period of the civil revolutionary war and the War of Resistance against Japan, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, it played a vital role in developing the economy of the revolutionary bases and in bringing about the victory of the revolutionary war. It also played an active role in promoting the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and agriculture and in further development and expansion of the State-operated and collective economies. During the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, under the illumination of the three red banners the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune, it found the correct line for the work of people's banks, and especially since learning from the Liberation Army, has put politics to the fore.

Bank workers and staff members throughout the land have raised their ideological consciousness to a relatively high degree. Relatively great progress has been gained in banking. The results are obvious. However, it must be seen that compared with the PLA and compared with Tachai [production brigade] and Tach'ing [oilfield], it still has a long way to go, and has yet to catch up with the needs of the developing situation. Beginning from this year, our country has entered a new period of the Third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, striving, in 20-30 years' time, to catch up with and surpass the world's advanced scientific and technological levels. Efforts are now directed at turning our country into a mighty socialist country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology.

In order to make banking better serve the three major revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment--and strive for greater victories for the Third Five-Year Plan, all bank workers and staff members are required to carry forward with the fine traditions of the revolution and gradually revolutionize their thinking, styles of work and at the same time revolutionize work and systems. In this way, a revolutionized bank can be created, that is, a bank which is extremely proletarianized and militant.

For ideological revolutionization to be attained, it is necessary to put politics in command, that is, to put Mao Tsetung thought in command, to foster proletarian ideas, eliminate bourgeois ideas, set up the proletarian world outlook (that is to dedicate one's life to the revolution, do everything for the revolution, serve the people wholeheartedly), as well as the idea of operating banks for the revolution and in the revolutionary spirit.

In a class society the question of world outlook is one of class stand. As they differ in their class positions and stands, men also differ in their basic attitudes toward all things. The bourgeois world outlook represents the notion of doing everything for one's own benefit and building one's happiness on the foundation of exploitation of the broad masses of the laboring people. The proletarian world outlook means doing everything for the collective, putting collective interests first, and self-consciously safeguarding the collective interests while sacrificing one's personal interests and even laying down one's life when personal interests and collective interests come into conflict.

Chairman Mao said: "This contingent of ours is entirely devoted to the work of liberating the people and serving the people's interests thoroughly." Such is the proletarian world outlook. What is meant here by "entirely" and "thoroughly"? It is a high sense of responsibility toward work and utter enthusiasm toward the people; it means that on the basis of handling the relationship between the personal and collective interests, one is able to "do everything for others, not for oneself." One does whatever is conducive to the Party, the people and the revolution, and does it with resolution and thoroughness, even to the extent of going into the thick of fire. One resolutely refrains from doing anything harmful to the Party, the people and the revolution, and opposes and struggles against it firmly.

To establish the proletarian world outlook, one must, like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, repeatedly read Chairman Mao's books, honestly take heed of his words, and at all times act on his instructions. One must be singlemindedly a good fighter of Chairman Mao and take an active part in the three revolutionary movements. While transforming the objective world, one must self-consciously persist in transforming one's subjective world and firmly set up the communist world outlook of wholeheartedly serving the Chinese people and the people of the world.

Under the socialist conditions in our country, all work is devoted to the revolution. For this reason, one must link up one's daily, ordinary work with the great cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction in our country, with the great task of aiding the revolutionary struggles of the people of the entire world, and with the long-range goal of communism, so as to set up the idea of running banks for the sake of the Chinese revolution and the world revolution.

A bank is a financial institution of the national economy. It has broad and close ties with the masses of the people in city and town, and is an indispensable component of the cause of socialist revolution and socialist

construction. The success or failure of banking has direct and indirect effects on the livelihood of the people in city and town. The better banking is done, the better it will serve the three revolutionary movements and the more capable it will become of promoting smooth development of socialist revolution and socialist construction and lending help to the development of the world revolution.

Thus, bank personnel in charge of agricultural funds, personnel in charge of credit, personnel in charge of savings, accountants, cashiers, guards, cooks, etc., are all taking part in the revolution, and are capable of performing great deeds at their ordinary posts. To realize revolutionization of one's thinking, one must, like Lei Feng and Wang Chieh, have a high degree of consciousness of revolutionary work, follow the dictates of the Party, and go where the Party demands. One must be a screw that never rots and emits its light wherever it is put.

Revolutionization of styles of work requires the promotion of the Party's three major styles, namely, the style of linking theory with practice, the style of maintaining close ties with the masses of the people, and the style of making self-criticism. It requires study of the PLA's 3-8 style, namely, adhering to the correct orientation, practicing industry and frugality, and adopting flexible strategy and tactics; showing unity, vigor, seriousness and initiative. It demands the promotion of the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death.

These revolutionary, fine styles of work are concrete manifestations of the great calls made by the Party and Chairman Mao to the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country; they are the concrete embodiment of Mao Tsetung thought. Having promoted these styles of work, the PLA has made itself an army which is extremely proletarianized and militant and which is invincible everywhere. The Party and Chairman Mao call on us in every trade and occupation to learn from the PLA, and the staff members and workers of the entire banking system must resolutely respond to the great calls of the Party and Chairman Mao, inherit and develop these distinguished styles of work of the Party. We must learn from them comprehensively and with special points of emphasis. When we say special points of emphasis, we mean to study and apply these styles in a creative manner, bearing firmly in mind the characteristics of banking work and bank personnel.

To study and promote these fine styles of work, it is necessary to put political work above all other work, in the matter of handling the relationship between politics and banking profession, to use politics to command the banking profession, to use Mao Tsetung thought as the guide to all work, and regard Chairman Mao's books as the supreme directives for our work in all fields. In dealing with the Party's guidelines and policies and the relationship between the instructions of the higher level and the practical conditions of one's own area and unit, it is essential to achieve combination of theory and practice, principle and flexibility. While doing so, one must be resolute, serious and proceed from reality on the basis of getting truth from facts. One must do one's work actively but without confusion.

In dealing with the relationship among comrades and that between the higher level and subordinates and between banks and enterprises, comrades must show concern for each other, politically, professionally and materially. They must help one another and be good at making criticism and self-criticism. Leading cadres must get into close touch with the masses, be concerned about the masses and rely on the masses in every respect. Banks must closely cooperate with enterprises, be concerned about and rely on them in every respect, set up the idea of the whole, and take initiative to promote unity and establish a new bank-enterprise relationship.

In the handling of the relationship between individuals and revolutionary cause, it is necessary to have all the energy of an individual devoted to the revolutionary cause. Everyone must manifest the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. Having such a revolutionary spirit, one is able to struggle against and triumph over difficulties, however serious, and the enemy, however strong, and is able to acquire basic skills for the revolution. Being proletarian banks, they must exhibit new proletarian styles of work and thoroughly combat the old styles of capitalist banks.

Revolutionization of work requires serious implementation of the relevant policies, measures and viewpoints to serve the three great revolutionary movements--class struggle, the struggle for production, and scientific experiment. The general policy of "developing the economy and insuring supplies" in financial and economic work is a scientific generalization of financial and economic work drawn by Chairman Mao in the light of practical revolutionary experiences in our country in 1942. It profoundly reflects the objective law governing the relationship between finance and economics. That is to say, economics determines finance. As the economy develops, production increases and trade expands, financial and credit capital will also grow and supplies be insured.

Conversely, success or failure in financial and credit work has its effect on the development of the economy. The basic goal of developing the economy and insuring supplies is to serve the proletarian politics and to implement the Party's general line. Whether we should develop the economy of socialist nature or economy of the capitalist nature is a question of basic orientation having a bearing on the struggle between the two roads and two lines. In the development of the economy and the safeguarding of supplies, financial and fiscal departments should determine which components of the economy should be given priority and which supplies should be given special attention. This, too, is a question having a bearing on the principles and policies of the Party.

For this reason, it is imperative to strengthen the political viewpoint, take the class struggle and the struggle between the two roads as the lever, correctly implement the Party's lines, principles and policies, and take the initiative to serve the central work of the Party and class struggle, so that financial work may become one of the vital fronts for attacking capitalist forces.

The national economy may develop in different fields, but the basic thing is to develop industrial and agricultural production. Production determines circulation. For this reason, it is necessary to act on Chairman Mao's

instruction to the effect that we should devote 90 percent of our energy to helping the peasants to increase production and the remainder of 10 percent to collecting taxes from them. It is essential to strengthen the production viewpoint, put the stress on the rural areas, vigorously support production, and positively support the production-increase and economy movement in all trades and occupations.

The object of developing the economy is to raise the living standards of the masses of the people, and this goal has to be realized by depending on the masses themselves. In view of this, in banking it is necessary to strengthen the mass viewpoint and provide every facility possible to the enterprises, communes and teams and the masses. At the same time, we should rely on the broad masses in operating banks, rely on the broad masses of workers and staff members in managing and using the fluid capital well, and rely on the rural credit cooperatives and accountants of communes and teams to manage and use the funds of the communes and teams and the various funds the State appropriated in support of agriculture. We must positively help the masses in city and town in organizing their economic life, and thus become the organizers of production for the masses and their bosom friends in livelihood.

It may be said that our attitude toward service and the three big viewpoints are concrete elaborations of the general policy of developing the economy and insuring supplies in financial and economic work.

"Positively support production, facilitate deposits and withdrawals, adhere to the set policy and principle, and work in a flexible way but without confusion" is our action slogan. Practice proves that these relevant policies, measures and viewpoints form the correct guidelines for people's banks. Where the three big viewpoints are strengthened, there work will be done flexibly and progress will continue. Where the three big viewpoints are weak, work will stagnate and there would be no progress. For this reason, for an examination of whether a bank does its work well or not and whether it has revolutionized its operations, the basic criterion is whether it has correctly carried out the relevant policies, measures and viewpoints. In order to realize revolutionization of banking work, it is necessary for all to step up class education, education on policies, and education on current affairs among the bank staff members and workers. We must oppose the purely business viewpoint which is not concerned with politics and policies. It is necessary to thoroughly eradicate the undesirable influences from capitalist and revisionist banks, so that the basic spirit of the relevant policies, measures and viewpoints can be grasped by everyone and seriously put into practice.

Revolutionization of systems requires that all rules and regulations be set to fully embody the Party's policies and principles and be of benefit to production and to the masses. Rules and regulations belong to the superstructure. When they are compatible with the economic base, they are capable of promoting the development of the economy and vice versa.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, all rules and regulations of people's banks, gradually reformed, have basically embodied in themselves the spirit of the set policies, met the needs of the development of the economy, and insured the normal conduct of work. However, bound by old and foreign dogmas, some rules and regulations still have defects in that they are rigid and trivial and do not show the three big viewpoints clearly. Consequently, they cannot cope with the needs of work. Especially in view of the developing situation, the administrative systems of industrial and commercial enterprises are being continually reformed and perfected, and this makes all the more obvious the need to further reform banking rules and regulations, so that they may fully manifest the Party's principles and policies and be made conducive to production, commodity circulation and the masses, and helpful to arousing the activism not only of the workers and staff members of enterprises but also of bank staff members and workers.

Practice shows that banking work is not only economic work but also political and mass work. If banking is done well, it will not only have a great effect on industrial and agricultural production and on the livelihood of the people, but also have a direct effect on the Party's prestige among the masses and on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. When work is done well, it will not only benefit the development of our country's revolution and construction, but also help increase our country's international influence. In view of this, we must approach banking work as political work, so that every banking unit is not merely an economic work team but also a political and mass work team. In this way, the broad masses of the people will see the people's banks as their own banks.

Revolutionization of thinking, revolutionization of working styles, revolutionization of work, and revolutionization of systems are closely related to and complement each other. And it is the revolutionization of thinking that plays the key role. The basic way to realization of mechanization, electrification, building a chemical industry and water conservancy works on a national scale is to undertake creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, arm the cadres, workers and staff members with Mao Tsetung thought and regard the study of Mao Tsetung thought as the most basic ideological construction in the realization of revolutionization. In the meantime, it is necessary to launch extensively and in depth the socialist education movement so as to enable the broad masses of cadres and workers and staff members to be educated and tempered in the class struggle. On this basis, the construction of basic-level organizations of the Party will be strengthened and the movement for comparing with, learning from, catching up with and helping those lagging behind with "five good" and "six good" as the goal, will be launched.

The key to all this rests with the leadership, with the leading cadres at all levels taking the lead in work, in creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works, in taking part in labor, in staying at selected points, in carrying out investigation and research, and in helping the basic level sum up experience, grasp typical examples and set up models, so as to make advanced units and advanced personalities emerge in large numbers. In this way, the broad masses of banking cadres and staff members and workers can be cultivated into a Red-expert force which is extremely proletarianized and extremely militant.

It must be seen that at a time when the situation at home and abroad is excellent, the US imperialists are expanding their aggressive war in Vietnam, continuing to carry out military provocations and war threats against our country, and plotting to impose war on the Chinese people. We must heighten our vigilance, and make all necessary preparations for defeating the aggression of US imperialism. We must step up ideological and organizational construction. Everyone must consciously set up the idea of running banks for the revolution and in the revolutionary spirit, and strive to create a revolutionized bank.

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Make Good Efforts to Arrange Well This Year's Advance Payments for Purchases

by

Commercial Credit Bureau, the People's Bank of China

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 2, January 24, 1966)

This year is the first year of China's Third Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy, and industrial and agricultural production is entering on a period of new upsurge. Agricultural production is to be developed mainly by displaying the Tachai spirit, working with great vigor and relying on own efforts. With a view to promoting further the development of agricultural production, the State will continue to issue deposits for advance purchases of farm produce and by-products this year; moreover, the amount of deposits shows an increase compared with last year. It is a great amount of capital. Properly issued and used, this part of capital will play an important part in promoting development of agricultural production and smoothly fulfilling the agricultural production target set for the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan. The banks at all levels, particularly the hsien and ch'ü people's banks should attach great importance to this work.

If the deposits for advance purchases are to be properly issued, it will be necessary, first of all, to make unified arrangements for all the aid-agriculture funds including deposits for advance purchase and agricultural loans, to prevent over-concentrated laying out of capital or removal of different funds from their normal connections with one another, and to put every yuan to the best use. Where the problem of production funds can be solved by means of deposits for advance purchases, agricultural loans may not be arranged; where agricultural funds have been so arranged as to solve the problems, deposits for advance purchases may not be arranged or only less deposits may be arranged; the proportion of deposits for advance purchases may be larger, in the case of those production teams which are short of funds, and may be smaller, or no deposits may be made in the case of those production teams which are not short of funds. This year's quota of deposits for advance purchases includes last year's deposits not yet refunded. Therefore, in the case of those production teams which did not refund the deposits for advance purchases last year, the bank should deduct the deposits not refunded when issuing such deposits this year. If the teams experience difficulties in funds, their proportion of such deposits may be appropriately raised (if the quota of such deposits is not enough to cover this, the bank may carry out inter-district readjustment in conjunction with the departments concerned), or more agricultural loans may be arranged by ways of solving the problem. The deposits for advance purchases must be issued direct to the production teams which have farm produce and by-products for advance sale; they must be placed at the teams' own disposal and may not be deducted or used for their purchases. The deposits should be made in cash or on account at the option of the production teams concerned. Deposits issued to individual members of the teams should be paid in cash.

If deposits for advance purchases are to be made properly, the banks must take stock of the whole situation. They should assist the advance purchase departments in investigating the planting arrangements, anticipated output and estimated quantity of delivery of the products for advance purchases and, on the basis of working out concrete measures for fulfilling the plans, sign advance purchase contracts with the commune teams and members. To make a good job of this work, leading cadres of the hsien and ch'ü banks should make investigations and study in commune teams and acquire experience to direct the work in general. Last year when deposits for advance purchases were issued, united working teams were formed by the farm produce advance purchase departments, departments for supply of means of production, the people's banks and the credit cooperatives in some localities; these working teams, operating in mountain and rural areas, handled issuance of deposits for advance purchases, transfer of accounts, and supply of means of production. This experience is good and may be popularized.

Assisting the commune teams and members in using the deposits properly is a key factor that will determine whether the role of the deposits can be brought into play and whether the deposits can be refunded in the right time. The banks and credit cooperatives should, in conjunction with the advance purchase departments, help the commune teams to insure that the deposits for advance purchases are used properly to meet the production needs of the current year, are not excessively used to meet the needs of livelihood, still less for purpose of capital construction. The poor and lower-middle peasants should be relied upon for supervising the use of the deposits. It should be made clear to cadres of commune teams that deposits for advance purchases are part of the funds earmarked for procurement of products and, except in the case of serious natural disasters and with approval of the provincial leading departments, should generally be refunded at the time of procuring the farm produce. If the deposits for advance purchases are excessively used to meet the needs of livelihood or for capital construction purposes, both production and refund of deposits will be adversely affected.

The tasks connected with the issuance of deposits for advance purchases are quite heavy this year. Now that spring farming is gradually entering on a busy season, the banks in various localities should, under the single leadership of the Party and Government, move ahead of the farming season, grasp the opportunity and assist the departments concerned in issuing the deposits promptly so as to facilitate the development of agricultural production.

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The Bank Really Helps Us Promote Production

- Speech by Superintendent Kuo of Chian Agricultural Machinery Plant at a Meeting of Credit Loan Cadres of Chian Central Branch on October 28, 1965 -

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 2, Jan. 24, 1966)

Formerly, the bank's man, upon his arrival at our plant, was interested in nothing but reckoning accounts and detecting discrepancies lest we should ask for more funds than we needed. Now, whenever the bank's man comes to our plant, he would be interested in our work and give us advice, thus solving our problems and tapping our latent power. We no longer worry about shortage of funds and we can concentrate on production.

*

Today I will say something about the way the Bank has backed us with credit loans in bringing about a new hightide of production in our plant this year.

Let me first give an account of the development and change of our plant. Our plant was formerly called Chingkangshan Machinery Plant and was later renamed Chian Agricultural Machinery Plant. In December last year it was divided into three plants. After its division into three plants we encountered three major difficulties: (1) The ranks of personnel were not perfect. (2) The set of equipment was not an integrated one. (3) After years of heavy financial burden, there was a great shortage of funds.

At present, however, our plant has fulfilled ahead of schedule all the six major targets except that for output which is adversely affected by the breakdown of power supply but will definitely be fulfilled by November. Our profits have overfulfilled the target by more than 100 percent. Whereas the turn-round of funds took more than 160 days last year, it took only some 80 days in the third quarter this year. Never before in all the years that I have been factory superintendent have I found it as easy as at present. We no longer worry about the matter of funds and can concentrate on production. This development and change are the result of common efforts exerted by the whole body of factory workers under the correct leadership of the higher body. The Bank also has a share in this result.

At the time the three major difficulties still weighed on us shortly after the division of our plant, the credit loan personnel of the Bank came to our plant as a working team to stay at the designated point. At that time, we welcomed this working team but also did not like them. We welcomed them because they could help us in our work. At that time, our old accounts were not closed while new accounts could not be started and the balance sheet could not be worked out. We wanted the working team to help us in this regard. But the working team presented me with a one-month work plan for doing several major things. Yet at that time we ourselves were in

difficulty and could not give them any help. Thus, a contradiction arose between us. That is why we did not like them. Later, the working team changed their plan, interested themselves in our work, went into the thick of production and reality and discovered many problems. They sent many "reports" to me and devised ways and means to help us solve several big problems:

First, they helped us lay down the burden of overstocked supplies. After the division of the original plant, it was not clear how our fiscal position stood. In view of the fact that our fiscal personnel were too few to cope with the fiscal affairs, they helped us carry out a general stock-taking and mark out the overstocked supplies. This enabled us to see where we stood. At the same time, the Bank helped us propose to the provincial department that the funds taken up by these overstocked supplies be excluded from the planned judicial examination. This arrangement gave us some scope of development. Further, the Bank helped us build connections with other enterprises and dispose of a lot of overstocked supplies. We made greater efforts to dispose of the overstocked supplies. So far we have disposed of overstocked supplies valued at some 70,000 yuan. Thus some of our funds are free from being tied down.

Through this series of work we have acquired a common language. In the past, there was no language common to the Bank and us. The Bank was only interested in reckoning accounts, auditing accounts and detecting problems lest we should ask for more funds than we needed while we were afraid that the Bank would restrict us. Recently a credit loan teller helped us calculate the working funds required for 1966. According to him, 400,000 yuan would be required. We told him 300,000 yuan would be enough. We also told him that we had no worry about the matter of funds and, being familar with the state of production, we knew there was great latent power to be tapped. If eventually we run into difficulties, we could count on the help of the Bank. That is why we did not ask for more.

Second, the State did not make great investment in equipment this year but we have added 13 units of equipment. The funds for buying these additional units have been raised mainly by relying on our own efforts, cutting down the production cost, realizing extra profit and saving other investments. In this connection, the Bank has also given us great support, helping us devise ways and means and serving as our "staff member." They were concerned about the problem of our equipment. They made enquiries here and there concerning prospective sale of equipment. When we had no money to buy the equipment available, the Bank devised ways and means to solve the problem. When we bought small equipment they suggested to us that we apply for small loans. They helped us reckon accounts and tap the latent power. They even prepared reports for us.

Third, this year's credit work has played an active part in promoting our production. If we failed to fulfill our production target the Bank would show concern. Whereas in the past they showed interest only in detecting problems whenever they came to our plant, now they would ask about the state of our production. They would ask us whether we

experienced difficulty in power supply. They would help us trace the cause of quality deterioration.

After analysis of the economic activity, they made comments, calculated the loss due to production of rejects, and called it to the workers' attention. Startled at the loss, they came to understand better that quality is primary.

The credit loan tellers would promptly inform us of the ideological problems found among the workers. Sometimes I would straightforwardly tell them: Knowing this, please help us go about the ideological work!

Perhaps some people would say such things are not within the duty of the credit loan tellers, but we welcome them to do such things. The reason is that only when production is made a success can the problem of fund be satisfactorily solved.

Sometimes we and the credit loan tellers will come into conflict in our work. For example, when I read the first report on the problem of quality I did not comment but merely asked the credit loan teller to go into the thick of production and look at the actual state of affairs. Concerning these divergent views, we have unified our understanding in our work and through practice.

This year's work has changed our attitude towards the Bank:

First, we have the impression that the Bank is out to help us, and not merely to watch us. In the past, we took the view that "the Bank comes to us for its own purpose": checking accounts and finding out whether the financial and economic policies were violated, whether the regulations of cash control were violated and whether the working funds were misappropriated. We always took measures for our safety in dealing with the Bank. We refrained from saying things which need not be said. We did not mind having our account checked because our account was in order and we did not violate the regulations. Our attitude towards the Bank was like this: You could not solve major problems and care nothing about minor problems. This attitude of ours might give you a bad impression and make you think that our plant was difficult to deal with.

When our funds were verified last year, we thought the Bank was out to cut down the funds. When we reckoned accounts I wrangled with them, being confident that while they might do anything they liked to restrict us, they could not but meet our demand. I demanded 280,000 yuan and they met it.

Now we appreciate what the Bank does to help us solve our problems from the standpoint of production. We regard the credit loan teller as our "good staff member" carrying out the financial and economic regulations. Whenever we are not clear about the matter of spending we will consult the credit loan teller. At an all-factory meeting of workers I declared: The credit loan teller is a cadre of the Plant and may see things in office and shops, do manual labor together with the workers and attend relevant meetings as a member of the same family.

Second, I have an impression that the Bank's style in work and method of work have changed. While in our plant the working team will help us keep accounts, prepare statements and give us a hand in specific work. Sometimes the team works overtime together with our cadres till mid-night. Our cadres are deeply moved by what the working team does for us. Once the fiscal department complained about shortage of hands and wanted an increase in its personnel. The Bank helped the fiscal department balance the old accounts accumulated. Now the fiscal department has enough hands to cope with its work and can spare half the time of one man. Formerly, the work team did four things whenever it came to our plant: (1) Drawing up plans. (2) Asking our assistance in its work. (3) Reckoning accounts. (4). (4) Summing up. They wrote a report and then went away. They could not solve important problems and yet gave us quite some trouble. Now, when the working team comes to our factory they center on our work and revolve round production. Formerly, before granting us a loan they would make an investigation lasting two or three days or even one week. Now the Bank goes deep into the enterprise, acquaints itself with the conditions and facilitates the granting of loans. The problem of loans can be settled on the same day. Even one day saved in granting the loans is good for an enterprise. On the whole, we feel that the banking business is now more flexible than in the past.

Finally, let me say something about what we expect from the credit loan teller.

1. We hope that the credit loan teller will acquaint himself with the state of production. The reason is that without acquainting himself with the state of production the credit loan teller cannot exercise real supervision, nor can he render a good service. Being a bank cadre, the credit loan teller sometimes views things from a different angle. This has its advantage in that an opposite is set to prevent a one-sided view of things. The credit loan teller will have to go through a definite process before he can acquaint himself with the state of production. Because of this, it behooves us to help him. Having acquainted himself with the state of production, the credit loan teller will be able to take the problem into all-round consideration and will not simply pursue the circle of funds.

2. The credit loan teller should not stay permanently in one locality. He does better to cover several factories and disseminate and popularize the experiences of other units by way of helping us improve our work and raise our level of production leadership.

3. Both the Bank and the enterprise should strengthen the ties between them. In this respect, what we did in the past was not enough and we always took the view that the "bank comes to us for its own purpose." I suggest that from now on we have access to all the bank documents that may be made known to us. We should exchange views and mutually understand the policy of the higher body, which will facilitate our work.

In short, we have really tasted the sweetness of the serve-production policy carried out by the Bank this year. It is gratifying that the Bank is really helping us promote production.

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Pay Attention to the Countryside and Promote Development of Agricultural Production in a Big Way

- Chung-kuo Chin-jung editorial -

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 2, January 24, 1966)

Paying attention to the countryside and supporting agricultural production is a long-term, important task of banking business. The national conference of sub-office managers held in December last year pointed out that the provincial banks, general branches, hsien branches and business offices should, in their operations, place support for agriculture in the primary position. Hsien branches should devote 90 percent of their resources to supporting agriculture and doing everything possible to strengthen the force on the first line of agricultural production. This is not only an economic task but an important political task as well confronting all our bank staff. Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Only when agricultural production is developed will it be possible for us to promote development of industry, communications, transport and other economic undertakings as well as the cultural undertakings, and to consolidate the worker-peasant alliance. At the same time, ours is a big country with a population of 650 million and their livelihood is a thing of prime importance. Our level of agricultural production is still not high enough. This being so, if we want to build ours as soon as possible into a socialist powerful country with modern agriculture, modern industry, modern national defense and modern science and technology, we must develop agriculture with great efforts. Vigorous development of agricultural production remains an important task during the third five-year plan period. All the Party committees at the provincial, district, hsien and commune levels place agriculture in the prime position, increasing production of grain and cotton, developing multiple undertakings and actively fighting natural disasters and preparing against famine. Therefore, paying attention to the countryside, vigorously supporting agricultural production and serving the central task of building basic farmland and developing agricultural production in various districts are an important feature of the banking business connected with implementation of the third five-year plan.

In supporting agriculture the banks must conscientiously publicize and implement the spirit of Tachai by relying on Party's policy and on the enthusiasm of the 500 million peasants for developing agriculture. The road of Tachai is China's sure way to the development of agriculture. The Tachai spirit has been translated into a powerful driving force for impelling the three great revolutionary movements in our country and speeding up construction of the socialist new countryside. The Tachai spirit is a spirit of putting Mao Tsetung thought in command, persisting in class struggle as the key link and making thoroughgoing and uninterrupted revolution. It is a spirit of relying on the collective strength of commune teams and on the hands of 500 million peasants working in practical ways, hard ways and clever ways and enduring hardship and toil. It is the spirit of Party's general line for going all out, aiming high and building socialism with greater, faster, better and more economical results. The Tachai spirit

is a product of Mao Tsetung thought, and to publicize the spirit means arming the broad masses of the people with Mao Tsetung thought. Once Mao Tsetung thought is mastered by the broad masses, it will display an unrivaled material force in production and construction and in various fields of work.

In paying attention to the countryside and supporting agriculture, the banks must manage and use State aid-agriculture funds in Tachai ways and conscientiously implement the policy of "laying emphasis on commune teams' self-reliance and taking state aid as a complementary measure." Self-reliance is a consistent policy adopted by our Party in revolution and construction in our country. Self-reliance is also an objective law governing the development of revolution and construction. In the case of agricultural production, the self-reliant and hard-working revolutionary spirit of 500 million peasants is an internal factor determining the development of agricultural production with greater, faster, better and more economical results. State aid in the forms of funds and commodities is an important force for promoting agricultural production but it is an external condition for promoting agricultural production. The external cause produces effect only through the internal cause. Only by displaying Tachai spirit can the due role of State aid-agriculture funds and commodities be brought into full play and can more things be done with less money but quicker results and greater returns. All the advanced models of Tachai type have been created through self-reliance and arduous struggle, by industry and thrift and by dint of practical, hard and clever work. Without Tachai spirit and the enthusiasm of 500 million peasants, things may not necessarily be done well even if more money is spent. Chairman Mao said as far back as in 1955: "Among the peasant masses there are great potentialities for raising agricultural funds. In the process of agricultural cooperativization the State should give the peasants the necessary aid in the matter of funds, for example, the funds for poor peasants now being built up and other loans. But the greater part of funds should be raised by the peasants themselves. And this is entirely possible. It is wrong to under-estimate the potentialities among the peasants." Therefore, in giving support to agriculture we must not proceed from the one-sided standpoint of granting favors and must not think in terms of purely relying on the State for money. State aid is an important force but State aid-agriculture funds are limited and, along with the constant development of agricultural production, contradiction between the need of fund and the availability of fund will arise from time to time. For this reason, agricultural production funds should be provided mainly by the commune teams self-reliantly and in Tachai ways. Relying on Tachai spirit, on Party's policy and on the enthusiasm of 500 million peasants for agriculture--this is a long-term policy to be adopted in supporting agriculture and should be firmly implemented in all kinds of aid-agriculture work such as the issuing of agricultural loans and advance purchase deposits, control over financial allocations, accounting supervision over commune teams, operations of credit cooperatives, handling of industrial-commercial credit loans, and the work of accountants and cashiers.

With a view to displaying peasants' revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard-working, the banks should form an overall picture of the production and funds in the commune teams, starting with helping them manage and use their funds properly, and discuss with commune team cadres how to implement their production and financial plans and display the Tachai spirit. On this basis, they should integrate State aid-agriculture funds with commune teams' own funds, financial investments with long-term agricultural loans, and advance purchase deposits with short-term agricultural loans, make overall plans and rational distribution, use the funds selectively and support all-round development of agriculture and side occupations centered on grain and cotton; they should support the calamity-stricken areas in restoring and developing production, support farm capital construction, aid the poor and lower-middle peasants, and see to it that each dollar is used in the most proper way and with the greatest economic result.

Grasping the supervision of accounting work over commune teams is the central link in the proper management and use of State aid-agriculture funds. Through such supervision the banks may form an overall picture of the production and finance in commune teams. This will help the production teams implement their production and financial plans and place distribution of income on a sound basis. It will help to manage and use State aid-agriculture funds and commune teams' own funds in proper ways. More importantly, it will help to display the Tachai spirit, implement Party's policies, summon peasants' enthusiasm, develop agricultural production and consolidate and develop the collective economy.

It is not enough to rely only on the State Bank cadres for proper management and use of State aid-agriculture funds. It is imperative to follow the mass line and rely on the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants for managing the financial affairs of production teams; this is an aspect which is most important.

At the same time, it is imperative to rely on the strength of the credit cooperatives. The State Bank carries on the greater part of its business in the rural districts through credit cooperatives. Credit cooperatives are subsidiaries to the State Bank. Rural credit cooperatives have played and will continue to play an important part in organizing the idle funds in the rural districts, in aiding collective production, in helping the poor and lower-middle peasants resolve their temporary difficulties in production and livelihood, in combating usury in the rural districts, in reinforcing the socialist financial position in the rural districts and in promoting development of agricultural production. In the socialist education movement the credit cooperatives have streamlined their organization. From now on, steps should be taken to set up gradually a credit station serving both industry and agriculture for each production brigade. These credit stations will strengthen the ties between production teams and commune members and help to manifest Tachai spirit and publicize and implement Party's guiding principles and policies.

In order to do a good job of financial work in the rural districts it will also be necessary to rely on the accounting personnel of the production brigades. The accountants of production brigades are, in general, experienced in financial and accounting work and have the duty to organize the financial and accounting work of production teams. The banks should work in close cooperation with the accounting personnel of production brigades and bring their active part into full play.

If we firmly rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, on cadres of credit cooperatives and on the accounting personnel of brigades in our work of supporting agriculture, our financial work will bear a mass character and strike root among the masses, and a powerful contingent, composed of personnel separated from production pursuits and personnel who are both workers and peasants, will be built. It will be possible to promote development of agricultural production with better results.

Chairman Mao says: "Peasants are the main body of the industrial market. Only they can supply the most abundant grain and raw materials and absorb the maximum industrial products."

China's farming population accounts for more than 80 percent of the total population and the rural market is the broadest market; industrial and handicraft production, commercial activities and, in particular, the industrial and commercial enterprises in hsien cities and market towns are mostly in the service of agricultural production and peasants' livelihood. An important aspect of Bank aid for agriculture is to encourage the industrial and commercial enterprises through industrial-commercial credit work to serve agricultural production and peasants' livelihood. Practice proves that all those banks and offices which put politics in command and serve industrial and agricultural production, conscientiously carrying out "one policy, serving two and adopting three viewpoints," will retain the initiative in their work, achieve marked success, win support from the Party and Government and approval of the masses and enterprises and increasingly broaden their scope or credit work. If they take the opposite course, the banks and offices will inevitably lose their bearings, become passive in their work, fail to maintain good relationship between the bank and the enterprises, fail to place bank business on the agenda of Party committee meetings, and find their scope of credit work increasingly narrowed down.

For this reason, the industrial-commercial credit loan staff of various banks should work in close coordination with the agricultural fund staff, make a move ahead of agricultural production, taking into account different farming seasons, and, together with the departments concerned, investigate and study the need, production and supply of means of agricultural production and means of subsistence in the rural districts and enterprises. Under the single leadership of the Party and Government, they should dovetail the production, supply and marketing plans, implement production and supply plans, and work out concrete measures for fulfilling the contracts. They should support the industrial and handicraft departments in increasing production, help the enterprises solve their existing problems,

and urge the enterprises to turn out, according to schedule, the required quantities of cheap-priced and good-quality products suited to the rural needs.

At the same time, they should actively support the commercial departments in procuring products and marketing goods in the rural districts and promote development of agriculture and side occupations. On the principle of prompt procurement, active marketing and flexible but orderly work, they should actively support the commercial departments in promptly procuring the major agricultural and subsidiary products on the one hand and assist the commercial departments in supplying the means of agricultural production and means of subsistence on the other.

The banks in various localities should conscientiously improve their account settlement and adhere to the principle of account settlement. They should step up survey of circulation of agricultural funds and rural money, promptly reflect the conditions of agricultural production, peasants' livelihood and rural markets and regulate the circulation of money between town and country. They should do a good job of accountants and cashiers' work and, taking production as the point of departure, cater to the needs of commune teams, the masses and the enterprises. Through the above series of work they should enliven exchange of commodities between town and country, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance and serve agricultural production and peasants' livelihood in a better way.

To insure that attention is paid to production, the countryside and the masses and support is given to agriculture, the most fundamental thing for the banks to do is to hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, bring politics to the fore, study and apply Chairman Mao's works in creative ways and, with the class struggle and two-line struggle as the key links, conscientiously implement one policy, serve two and adopt three viewpoints and thoroughly get rid of the purely business viewpoint, self-complacency and the mentality of moving in the old rut and coming to terms with the present. We should be both a team doing economic work and a team doing political work and mass work and should be both a financial worker and a propagator and organizer of Tachai spirit. As a political work team and a propagator of Mao Tsetung thought, we should persist in putting business under political command and establish the idea of paying attention to the countryside and serving agricultural production and the poor and lower-middle peasants. We should constantly improve our style in work and method of work, go to the basic stratum and into the thick of production and among the masses, conscientiously step up investigation and study and promptly sum up our experience. This year is the first year of the Third Five-Year Plan, and a hightide of agricultural production and construction--emulating, catching up and overtaking Tachai--has already been brought about on the front of agricultural production. The development presents us with a still higher command. We must closely keep pace with the development in our thought and our practice of work and see to it that the banking business achieves a still greater success in aiding agriculture and promoting sustained development of hightide in industrial and agricultural production.

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National Planning Conference Held by People's Bank of China To Discuss Revolutionization of Planning Work

(Chung-kuo Chin-jung [China Finance], No. 4, February 24, 1966)

The People's Bank of China held a national planning conference at the end of 1965 to check up the way the planning departments of various banks had implemented the decision adopted at the February national conference on political work in finance and trade. The meeting discussed how to revolutionize the planning work and how to go about the planning work in 1966. Vice President Ch'iao P'ei-hsin (乔培新) of the Head Office delivered a report on revolutionization of banks planning work.

The Question of Orientation in Planning Work

The conference reviewed the planning work. Following the February conference on political work in finance and trade and with its decision transmitted, the planning workers of various banks examined their purely professional viewpoint and acquired a better understanding of the significance of bringing politics to the fore. More and more workers conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's writings, voluntarily proceeded with ideological remolding, and devoted themselves to their duties. With bank cadres' mental outlook undergoing a new change, the planning work of various banks showed some improvement.

The conference observed that while some progress has been made over the past year, the planning work still falls short of the target--bringing politics to the fore and realizing the four first's and that only in a few cases has political work been placed in the leading position. The planning work still shows some defect, that is, the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought is not held aloft and the work not grasped fully and penetratingly. The purely professional viewpoint has not been satisfactorily overcome in the case of many planning cadres. Some of them remain contented with their present status, move in the old rut, and let the framework of profession restrict their minds. In the new situation, they feel "the planning work is not clearly oriented and their own work position cannot be located."

The conference pointed out emphatically that the question (i.e., the planning work is not clearly oriented) raised by some comrades is in substance a question of how to revolutionize the planning work. The conference discussed the question and agreed that banks' planning work is not clearly defined. The orientation of planning work is: Hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, carry out Party's general line for building socialism, the general policy of developing the national economy with "agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor," and the policy of building the country by industry and thrift; carry out the general policy of financial and economic work--"develop the economy to insure supply"; adhere to the political viewpoint, production viewpoint and mass viewpoint, and serve production and people's livelihood. Persist in integrating

theory with practice, build close ties with the masses, promote investigation and study, proceed from the overall situation, grasp the key problems through credit loan and cash planning, reflect and solve these problems, and strive to realize the target of the national economic plan.

On the basis of the 1966 national economic plan and the bank's policy and tasks, the planning departments of the banks must bring politics to the fore and revolutionize the planning work; they must pay attention to the countryside and enterprises, take an active part in the production-increase and economy movement and, through credit loan and cash planning, firmly grasp "three-investigation," economize the working capital and strive to support the industrial and agricultural production hightide and speed up the national construction.

Bring Politics to the Fore, Revolutionize the Planning Work

The conference made it clear that the key to revolutionization of the planning work lies in putting the planning work under the command of Mao Tsetung thought. To bring politics to the fore in planning work, it would be imperative to oppose the purely professional viewpoint and the self-complacent mentality of coming to terms with the present and seeking no progress, to place living study and application of Chairman Mao's writings in the leading position of all work, and to take Chairman Mao's writings as our highest directives for all kinds of our work. It should be brought home to all comrades doing planning work that banks' planning work must serve to implement Mao Tsetung thought, and Party's line, guiding principle and policy. Otherwise, banks' planning work will lose its bearings and commit errors. For the present, planning workers should deeply imbibe the spirit of Chairman Mao's strategic directive on the third five-year plan and permeate the practical work with this spirit. They should permeate their practical work with Party's general line and "one policy, two objects of service, three major viewpoints." Only when it implements and embodies Mao Tsetung thought and Party's line, guiding principle and policy can banks' planning work acquire vitality and bring about greater, faster, better and more economical development of production and construction.

The conference held that the most fundamental thing to do in order to revolutionize banks' planning work is to apply Mao Tsetung thought in promoting revolutionization of the minds of the planning workers. Without a revolutionized contingent of planning workers there can be no revolutionized planning work in the banks. Banks' planning cadres must be those armed with Mao Tsetung thought, defying hardship and death and devoting themselves to revolution. Cadres of this type can take account of the overall situation in their planning work and actively serve the central work of the bank and the central work of the Party. Cadres of this type will dare to be responsible to the Party, the State and the people and dare to respect truth; in doing everything, they will think of the manpower and material and financial resources of the State and weigh various things in spending money instead of irresponsibly giving money to whoever demands it. When they run

into contradictions, they will dare to expose the contradictions, adhere to principle and wage a struggle. They will go about their planning work in revolutionary ways, constantly study and find the greater, faster, better and more economical road to production development and make up their minds to acquire a set of experiences by means of which to go about the planning work of the socialist state banks.

In view of this, the conference urged the whole body of planning cadres to study and apply Chairman Mao's writings in creative ways, to make a self-revolution, to transform their subjective world, to emulate Wang Chieh and to make up their minds to devote themselves to revolution. They were urged to repudiate the erroneous ideas such as "it is not within my duty" and "it is not my proper calling" and also the impure thoughts.

The conference held that, in order to revolutionize the planning work, it would also be imperative to adhere to the divisive viewpoint, go into the thick of reality to make investigation and study, and oppose metaphysics. Planning cadres should study Chairman Mao's philosophical writings hard and go about their planning work from the viewpoint of materialistic dialectics. Here the key lies in going into the thick of reality to make investigation and study, to appropriate and synthesize a mass of first-hand data, and to elevate the perceptual knowledge to the plane of rational knowledge by "getting rid of the crude and false, keeping the essence and the truth, and proceeding from one to the other and from the outside to the inside." Only thus can they provide correct information and practical plans and make a good job of comprehensive analysis and reflection.

The conference held that in order to revolutionize the planning work it would also be imperative to carry out the mass line. Planning work depends not only on the professional departments within the bank but also on the competent departments and enterprise units. In the process of drawing up plans, organizing implementation of the plans and checking up the use effect of funds, it will be necessary to form a close combination with the professional departments within the bank and to build new relationship between the bank and the enterprises for the purpose of serving the competent departments and various enterprise units.

Pay Attention to the Countryside, Serve the Purpose of Developing Agricultural Production

The conference urged banks' planning cadres to think in terms of serving the countryside and to place aid for agricultural production in the leading position of various kinds of business. Hsien sub-branches' planning cadres should assist the rural financial cadres and the departments concerned in investigating the state of equilibrium between production, supply and need of means of agricultural production, in making overall arrangements for various kinds of agricultural production funds and in correctly handling the contradiction between needs and possibilities according to State policies and plans. Centering on the central work of the Party, they should systematically and purposefully organize survey of the monetary circulation in the countryside, analyze commune teams' income, distribution and accumulation,

analyze commune members' income and expenses, help commune teams develop agricultural production and side occupations in the Tachai spirit and increase commune accumulations and commune members' income; assist the commercial departments in supplying commodities to the rural markets and check up the use effect of the aid-agriculture funds. The conference pointed out that the banks at various levels should strengthen their leadership over the aid-agriculture work, pay attention to summing up and exchanging experiences, integrate the planning work closely with the rural financial work and industrial-commercial credit loan business, and serve agricultural production better.

Give Active Support to the Enterprise in Their Production and Economy Movement

In 1966, a mass movement to increase production and practice economy will be launched throughout the country and a "three-investigation" work will be carried out to check up equipment, materials and working funds. There are some comrades who take the view that the planning departments need not put their fingers into this business which concerns only the credit loan departments. The conference regarded such an understanding as one-sided. The planning departments must also organize forces and, together with the credit loan departments, take part in the production and economy campaign and the "three-investigation" work of enterprises. The planning department and the credit loan department within the bank should break the line of internal division of labor and jointly study the actual state of commodities and funds appropriated by the enterprises and make efforts to realize enterprises' tasks of increasing production and practicing economy. This line of action will be fully in keeping with the spirit of Chairman Mao's general policy on financial and economic work. To use 90 percent of energy to help the enterprises increase production and practice economy--such is the foundation of banks' planning work. If we obtain a mass of first-hand data through participation in enterprises' movement for increasing production and practicing economy, elevate our perceptual knowledge to the plane of rational knowledge and proceed with a composite work, we shall be able to do our planning work better than in the past. On this foundation we can find the way to improving banks' planning work, easily study and rationally organize equilibrium between money, funds and commodities, and promote production development and commodity circulation.

Strengthen the Check-Up on Plan Implementation and the Composite Reflection

The conference demanded that one-sided viewpoints in planning work--attaching importance to drawing up plans but neglecting the carrying out of plans, grasping loans but not deposits, grasping receipts and disbursements of credit loans but not the working funds as a whole--should be overcome. It called for strengthening the check-up on the carrying out of plans and the composite reflection of things. The conference emphasized that to check up seriously the way the plans are carried out is a matter of assuming responsibility for the cause of the Party. In organizing the carrying out of plans, it would be necessary to grasp the decisive factor and the keypoint,

to go into the thick of reality and to make investigation and study around the central work. It would be necessary to study the use effect of loans and analyze the deposits; it would be necessary to pay attention to the changes in receipts and disbursements of credit loans and to study the way the whole working funds are used. The conference pointed out that composite reflection of things should rest on typical investigation and on combination of the part with the whole. In making a composite reflection of things, the planning department and the professional department should cooperate with each other closely, relate the typical data to the overall situation, the living situation and the statistical data, seize upon the main contradiction, make concrete analysis from a divisive viewpoint, propose methods to solve problems and integrate investigation with the solving of problems.

Make A Good Job of Cash Management and Wage Fund Management

The conference also took up for discussion cash management and wage fund management. For the present, the emphasis of cash management should be laid on the collective economic units in towns and on the movement of funds from the State to the collective, and on preventing and combatting corruption, embezzlement and speculation; care should be taken to sum up experiences in this respect and to expand the cash management more comprehensively. On the basis of the demand of the 1966 national economic plan, the conference held that the banks must strengthen management of wage funds. On the one hand, the banks should, according to the wage plans approved by the State, see to it that the total amounts of unit wages and the total amount of regional wages must not be exceeded. On the other, the banks should promptly reflect the problems found in carrying out the wage plans.

With a view to carrying out the 1966 policy and tasks of the whole banks, the conference urged the planning departments under the Head Office and various branches to go into the thick of reality and among the masses and to stay at selected points according to plan. They were urged to sum up experiences, grasp the typical examples, and organize the planning cadres to find the gap, learn from the advanced, launch a "compare, learn, catch up, help and overtake" movement, achieve better results in planning work, and take the first triumphant step in fulfilling the Third Five-Year Plan.

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A Great Program for Building a Contingent of Proletarian Intellectuals

- Study "Speech at the National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Chinese Communist Party"

by

The Writing Group of Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

The "Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party," delivered by our great leader Chairman Mao thirteen years ago,* is another outstanding work which came after "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People." In this speech Chairman Mao further creatively developed with genius Marxism-Leninism.

In this splendid work, Chairman Mao scientifically summed up the experience of class struggle on the political and ideological fronts during the period of socialist revolution in our country. He summed up the experience of the opposition to modern revisionism in the international communist movement. He elaborated with more profundity on classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, particularly the law and characteristics of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie on the ideological and cultural fronts. He specifically put forth the great historical task of criticizing revisionism on the political and ideological fronts and of defeating the bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere, and he enriched and developed the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In an extraordinarily clear and comprehensive manner this illustrative speech discussed the question of reform of intellectuals and pointed out the way forward for the broad masses of intellectuals. It is a mighty ideological weapon for us to triumph over revisionism and ideas of all exploiting classes, to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to prevent the restoration of capitalism. It is a guiding light for carrying through the socialist revolution to the end on the political and ideological fronts. It is a great program for gradually building a force of proletarian intellectuals.

Today, with great victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution, to re-study this splendid work is of vital significance to the thorough criticism of renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's

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* Hung-ch'i's editor's note: March this year is the 13th anniversary of Chairman Mao's "Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party" delivered on March 12, 1957. We published this article to commemorate the event.

counter-revolutionary revisionist line, to the successful practice of the struggle-criticism-transformation in the ideological sphere, to the consolidation of unity, education and transformation of intellectuals and to the training of new proletarian intellectuals.

I

Uniting, educating and transforming the vast masses of intellectuals, training new proletarian intellectuals and building a huge force of proletarian intellectuals--this is a major problem before the proletariat to triumph over the bourgeoisie during the socialist period. It is a strategic task for consolidating the socialist system and the proletarian dictatorship.

In this glorious work Chairman Mao teaches us: "In our country, the struggle for consolidating the socialist system and the struggle over the question of who beats whom, socialism or capitalism, will still take a very long historical period." "The question of who wins over whom, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, in the ideological sphere has not been really settled."

The victory of the proletarian revolution deprived the bourgeoisie of political power and the system of capitalist ownership. However, the bourgeoisie still has its influences in the ideological and cultural positions, and its reactionary ideology, reactionary world outlook and its influence among the masses will still exist for a long time to come. In order to restore capitalism, it always tries all possible means to keep these positions and consolidate them, or seize these positions. And in these positions bourgeois intellectuals who hold temporary superiority are the forces on whom it depends or whom it wants to win over.

This sharp and complicated class struggle in the ideological domain will naturally make the question of intellectuals more acute. Chairman Mao points out: "In the entire period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the transformation of intellectuals is a very important question." It is only when the proletariat transforms intellectuals in its own image, trains new proletarian intellectuals from among workers and peasants, and builds up a force of proletarian intellectuals serving it that it can seize and consolidate the ideological and cultural positions and exercise overall dictatorship in the superstructure including various spheres of ideology.

Chairman Mao makes a scientific and profound analysis of the basic conditions of intellectuals our country now has, pointing out that among the intellectuals some are inclined to the Left, some take the middle course, and some are inclined to the Right; namely, some are firm, some are oscillatory, and some stand on the opposite side. Those who support and are more or less familiar with Marxism take the proletarian stand, and while they are in the minority, they form the hardcore and have strength.

The great majority of intellectuals are still in the intermediate state; namely, they are willing to study Marxism and serve the people, but they have not stood firmly and tend to waver in the midst of storms.

Those who take a hostile attitude toward Marxism and to our State are in an extremely small minority; they hanker after the old society, and once they have the opportunity, they will stir up trouble in a vain attempt to restore capitalism.

Facts about the class struggle on the political and ideological fronts over the past decade and more prove that Chairman Mao's analysis of intellectuals is very correct. The state of the intellectuals shows that "in our country the overwhelming majority of intellectuals are willing to make progress and to transform themselves, and they can be transformed." At the same time, it tells us that the task of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals is a long-term, formidable one, which will certainly involve an acute class struggle. The central question of the struggle is whom to serve.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The question of whom to serve is a fundamental question, and a question of principle." To serve the proletariat or the bourgeoisie? To serve the dictatorship of the proletariat or the restoration of capitalism? This is a basic question facing intellectuals in the period of socialist revolution. Only by solving this fundamental question, taking the proletarian stand, and wholeheartedly serving the laboring people can intellectuals have a firm and correct political orientation, overcome the bourgeois ideas in their minds, and make useful contributions to socialism.

To solve this basic question of whom to serve, Chairman Mao regards it as a task of prime importance to help intellectuals establish a correct political viewpoint. Hitting the nail on the head, Chairman Mao points out: "Having no correct political viewpoint means having no soul." And to establish a correct political viewpoint, it is imperative for one to transform one's world outlook with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, to plunge into the midst of workers and peasants, into the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation in order to be tested by storms and see the world. At the same time, it is essential to continue to make criticism and self-criticism with regard to the bourgeois ideology and the ideas of all exploiting classes to which one is subjected.

Through the great proletarian cultural revolution, our country's educational system is now undergoing a fundamental change. One of the problems to be solved in the proletarian educational revolution is how to produce from our schools new intellectuals that truly serve the proletariat. Young people from workers, peasants and soldiers going to school must be enabled during the period of their study to reform their thinking with Mao Tsetung thought, namely, the proletarian world outlook, and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers wholeheartedly. They should not be required only to increase their cultural level, discard the socialist revolution, and divorce themselves from class struggle. For this reason, it is essential that, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the serious unfolding of revolutionary mass criticism and the solid setting up of a correct political viewpoint be regarded as the primary task of training proletarian intellectuals.

For a long time the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i had done his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's great policy of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, and on the question of intellectuals, pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line of attacking the Left, protecting the rightists, corrupting the middle roaders, and seizing ideological and cultural positions from the proletariat. He used the "theory of dying out of class struggle" to oppose the socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts and oppose the unfolding of criticism against the bourgeois reactionary academic authorities and bourgeois reactionary ideas in all spheres of ideology. He advocated bourgeois liberalization and allowed feudalist, bourgeois and revisionist stuff to spread unchecked to poison the broad masses of intellectuals and educated youth.

He protected and gave important positions to the ghosts and monsters in the ideological and cultural circles, allowing them to sneak into the Party and seize the leadership of the ideological and cultural bastions. He used the sinister "Self-Cultivation" tinged with bourgeois egoism and idealism to corrupt the souls of the broad masses of intellectuals in a vain attempt to turn them completely into revisionists. For the past more than ten years Liu Shao-ch'i's agents in the cultural domain, namely, Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, T'ien Han and Yang Han-sheng, had spread an unknown amount of poison. All these were for one purpose: to create public opinion for the restoration of capitalism in a futile bid to turn the proletarian dictatorship into bourgeois dictatorship.

Chairman Mao had a long time ago perceived the danger of the counter-revolutionary plot hatched by Liu Shao-ch'i and associates, and continuously dealt them blows. Chairman Mao pointed out sharply: "In order to overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first to create public opinion, and to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for revolutionary classes as well as for the counter-revolutionary classes." In particular, he pointed out that the cultural departments controlled by Liu Shao-ch'i and where intellectuals predominated, had already "fallen to the brink of revisionism. If they are not seriously transformed, then the day is bound to come when they will be turned into bodies of the type of petofi club in Hungary." These words from Chairman Mao, alike the alarm bell, put before the whole Party and the people of the whole country in an acute form the question of unfolding the great proletarian cultural revolution and the question of transformation of intellectuals.

The great proletarian cultural revolution smashed the attack of the forces of capitalist restoration with Liu Shao-ch'i as the chief representative. It crushed the ideological and cultural bastions which they had usurped. It cleaned out a small handful of counter-revolutionary elements who sneaked into the ranks of intellectuals, and saved many intellectuals who were willing to make progress from being poisoned by the revisionist line. The revolutionary mass criticism swept clean the viruses of revisionism as well as the dirt from the bodies of the intellectuals. They acutely felt their weaknesses and realized the utter importance of re-studying Mao Tsetung thought and integrating with the workers, peasants and soldiers. From Chairman Mao's

proletarian revolutionary line they saw the great historical task of transforming the old culture and creating a new culture under the leadership of the working class. They also saw their own glorious future. This then prepared very favorable conditions for uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals in accordance with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Imperialists, social-imperialists and class enemies at home and abroad are extremely fearful of the fact that the broad masses of intellectuals are freeing themselves from the revisionist bondage and transforming themselves with the proletarian world outlook. They shamelessly cursed our great proletarian cultural revolution as "destroying the intellectuals." We can reply to this with Chairman Mao's famous assertion that "to be opposed by the enemy is not a bad thing but a good thing."

In fact, what really destroy the intellectuals are the capitalist system and revisionist viruses. Capitalism turns intellectuals into slaves of capital and tools for creating profits. Revisionsm turns intellectuals into "spiritual aristocrats" and uses "material incentives" to induce them to serve the restoration of capitalism. This not only "destroys" the souls of intellectuals but also "destroys" their knowledge and talents. Only under our socialist system and under the leadership of our Party can all intellectuals who support socialism and love their country be truly cared for and respected, can they grow up healthily, can they integrate their book knowledge with the practice of the three great revolutionary movements, and can they find the broad world in which to serve the people. Isn't this true?

Recently, the bourgeois diehards have been spreading what they call the "theory that cultural work is dangerous" and the "theory that cultural work should be abolished" in a vain hope of misleading the people and blocking the advance of the broad masses of intellectuals along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This will be futile. The feudalist, bourgeois and revisionist aspects of "cultural work" promoted by the renegade Liu Shao-ch'i and associates in the past were indeed dangerous as they harmed the proletarian dictatorship and the broad masses of intellectuals. For this reason, we must firmly criticize and do away with them. On the other hand, the revolutionary cultural work under the command of Mao Tsetung thought constitutes a mighty weapon with which to carry out socialist revolution and protect the dictatorship of the proletariat, and must be vigorously strengthened and fully developed. Such is our basic purpose in carrying out struggle-criticism-transformation in the ideological and cultural sphere.

At a time when the strong flames of revolutionary mass criticism are burning the dens of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and the mass movement of struggle-criticism-transformation is developing in depth, the so-called "theory of danger" of cultural work" and "theory of abolition" merely indicates the moans of the bourgeois diehards, for the fact is that the bourgeois old culture has been hit hard and that the proletarian new culture is developing with vigor. It merely exposes their counter-revolutionary ambitions to continue their struggle with the proletariat for the cultural bastions, winning over the intellectuals and making a comeback one of these

days. The broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals should sharpen their eyes and heighten their vigilance against this, and must not treat it lightly.

This then tells us that while the broad masses of intellectuals are marching forward along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, there still exists a grave class struggle. A very serious weakness of the middle roaders (representing the majority) of the intellectuals is their oscillation. The class enemies are adept at using such weakness to engage in sabotage activities. For this reason, there is a special need for us to bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching: "We hope that intellectuals in our country will continue to go forward, that, in the course of their own work and study, they will gradually establish the communist world outlook, gradually master Marxism-Leninism and gradually integrate with the workers and peasants, and that they will not stop half way, still less go backward for they will have no way out if they go backward." The vast masses of intellectuals willing to make progress should persist in taking the road of serving proletarian politics and of setting up the communist world outlook, for before them is a very broad socialist path.

II

Integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers and re-education by them--this is the only way for the transformation of intellectuals as well as the only way for the growth of proletarian intellectuals.

As early as 30 years ago, Chairman Mao had pointed out with profundity: "If intellectuals do not integrate themselves with the workers and peasants, they will accomplish nothing. The ultimate dividing line between a revolutionary intellectual and a non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectual is whether he is willing to, and actually does, integrate himself with the workers and peasants." For the last 30 years the history from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution has entirely proven this Marxist-Leninist conclusion of Chairman Mao.

In his "Speech at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the Chinese Communist Party" Chairman Mao went further in systematically elucidating the utter importance of the need for intellectuals to become one with the workers and peasants, and pointed out the concrete way for them to do so.

Integration with workers and peasants is the basic way for intellectuals to reform their world outlook. Today, many of our intellectuals came over from the old society, and they did not come from families of laboring people. And some, even if they came from families of laboring people, are nevertheless bourgeois in world outlook because they had received bourgeois education. The bourgeois world outlook is the product of the capitalist relations of production and social system, and in the last analysis, defends capitalist system of private ownership and serves the bourgeois dictatorship. It is basically incompatible with the socialist system of public ownership and proletarian dictatorship. If intellectuals do not

thoroughly reform such world outlook, they will differ from workers and peasants in viewpoint, stand, and sentiment, they will not get along well with the workers and peasants, and they will not be able to render good service to the socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The change in world outlook is a fundamental change." The most effective way to effect this fundamental change is to go in the midst of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, to take them as teachers, to learn from their stand, thoughts, sentiments, revolutionary spirit and practical experiences. Only thus can they gradually overcome the individualist and subjectivist tendencies inherent in intellectuals, overcome the emptiness of their thought and the oscillation of their action, truly breathe with the workers and peasants, share their fate, love what they love, and hate what they hate.

Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought, especially Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles," provides the most powerful ideological weapon with which to transform one's world outlook. To truly master this weapon, intellectuals must integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. Chairman Mao teaches us: "In studying Marxism, we must not only learn from books but chiefly through participation in class struggle, work practice and identifying ourselves with the worker-peasant masses." Only by integrating themselves with workers and peasants, overcoming their unhealthy tendency to divorce theory from reality and words from deeds can intellectuals gradually, like the broad masses of workers and peasants and soldiers, achieve quick results in respect to the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought and reformation of world outlook.

Going among the workers and peasants is also the best way for intellectuals to combine their book knowledge with practice. Chairman Mao points out: Intellectuals "are the educators and teachers, and they have the task of being the first to be educated." What is meant by receiving education refers not only to world outlook but also knowledge. The knowledge of the intellectuals is mainly derived from books. Such knowledge is incomplete or not very complete, cannot solve problems and is not very useful until it is combined with the knowledge of the workers and peasants and with revolutionary practice. It is only when they plunge into the three great revolutionary movements, make friends with workers and peasants, learn from producers, workers and poor and lower-middle peasants, and obtain practical experiences that they can turn incomplete knowledge into complete knowledge and useless knowledge into useful knowledge, and truly play the role of educators.

This is the reason why Chairman Mao has exhorted the intellectuals in these words: "We encourage the intellectuals to go among the masses, to the factories and to the countryside." "We must create the practice of going among the worker and peasant masses; in other words, there must be large numbers of intellectuals who do so."

However, for many years Chairman Mao's instructions were continually interfered with and sabotaged by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Using the decadent "theory of going to school in order to become an official," he lured intellectuals into climbing upward, being overlords riding roughshod over the people. Intellectuals were not to be turned into ordinary laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. Using the preposterous "theory of going to the countryside to be gilded in gold," he was opposed to the transformation of the intellectuals' stand and world outlook in the prolonged process of integration with the workers and peasants. He used the reactionary "theory of labor as punishment" to obstruct the intellectuals from being trained in labor in the three revolutionary movements in a vain attempt to discard this vital measure of opposing and preventing revisionism. These fallacies of the renegade Liu Shao-ch'i had caused considerable harm among a section of intellectuals. This is a serious crime he committed in disrupting the transformation of intellectuals, and it must continue to be criticized in depth.

The great proletarian cultural revolution thoroughly smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and opened up a broad path for intellectuals to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's series of latest instructions, the working class and its most reliable ally--poor and lower-middle peasants--have mounted the political stage of struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure, the broad masses of cadres have gone down to do labor, educated youths have gone to the mountainous areas or the countryside, literary and art workers and health workers have turned their attention to the countryside and gone to the factories, rural areas, and the [army] companies. This has become a standard practice throughout the whole country. This is a tremendous, world-shaking change that has ever been seen in the last several thousand years. It is bound to accelerate greatly the process of transformation of intellectuals in our country.

From now on the basic way for the growth of new proletarian intellectuals will still be integration with the workers and peasants. An important object of our proletarian educational revolution is to enable the intellectuals trained in schools to know the workers and peasants, acquire the thoughts and feelings of the laboring people, and understand how to engage in socialist productive labor, to become one with the workers and peasants. In this way, they will not have to wait till their graduation to get close to the workers and peasants. Only thus can we realize the task, put forward by Chairman Mao, of training laborers with socialist consciousness and culture.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Working personnel of our State organs, writers, artists, teachers and scientific researchers should do their best to make use of all kinds of opportunity to get acquainted with the peasants. Some may go to the factories or the countryside to take a look and make a round for themselves. This is called 'looking at flowers on horseback,' and it is better than not doing so at all. Others may live in the factories or the countryside for several months, where they make investigations and

perception and struggle before there can be development. Truth develops in its struggle with falsehood. It is exactly in such a manner Marxism has developed. Marxism has developed and can only develop in struggle against the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideas."

We must remember this truth and seriously and arduously study the many important writings of Chairman Mao in this respect, and with Chairman Mao's instructions as the guiding light, we shall have the courage, perseverance and methods to conduct the struggle on the ideological front well. We must arm ourselves with the viewpoint of class analysis as pointed out by Chairman Mao, and in the course of ideological struggle, organize, temper and expand the forces of proletarian intellectuals. We must take a positive attitude and persistently make an effort to grasp typical examples well, conduct investigations and studies concretely, and first of all concentrate the forces on the mass criticism on a certain question in a particular aspect in order to obtain experience. Through continuous practice and continuous summing up of experience, difficulties can be overcome and problems can be solved. When we gradually realize the law of this work, we shall know how to do it well and we shall have more courage and confidence in doing our work well.

Some comrades show impetuosity. This too must be overcome. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The question of intellectuals is primarily an ideological question. With regard to this ideological question, it would be harmful to resort to coercive and repressive methods." "Our comrades must understand that the work of ideological transformation is a prolonged, patient and delicate piece of work. It is impossible to change the ideology of others formed in several decades of life by holding several classes or holding several meetings. People must be persuaded through reasoning and not through force."

Learning to reason things out is a piece of ideological work within the ranks of the people, and especially it is a crucial question to making a success of ideological work for intellectuals. In the work of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, there is the acute struggle between two kinds of world outlook. Erroneous ideas and poisonous weeds should be criticized and must not be allowed to spread unchecked. However, such criticism should take the form of reasoning; it should be analytical and have strong persuasive force.

"We must learn to overcome all kinds of erroneous ideas by means of debate or by means of reasoning." In order to do reasoning, we must study well and raise our own level of Mao Tsetung thought. Therefore, the means of reasoning is also the means of propelling one's own creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. In the course of re-education given to intellectuals, some people may suffer from reversals in their thinking. Confronted with this situation, we must not become impetuous. Old ideas always are overcome in continuous and repeated struggle, and new ideas always develop in continuous, recurrent struggle. We must be good at conducting ideological and political work in an appropriate and enthusiastic manner, and gradually guide as many intellectuals as possible to the path of proletarian revolution.

However, for many years Chairman Mao's instructions were continually interfered with and sabotaged by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Using the decadent "theory of going to school in order to become an official," he lured intellectuals into climbing upward, being overlords riding roughshod over the people. Intellectuals were not to be turned into ordinary laborers with socialist consciousness and culture. Using the preposterous "theory of going to the countryside to be gilded in gold," he was opposed to the transformation of the intellectuals' stand and world outlook in the prolonged process of integration with the workers and peasants. He used the reactionary "theory of labor as punishment" to obstruct the intellectuals from being trained in labor in the three revolutionary movements in a vain attempt to discard this vital measure of opposing and preventing revisionism. These fallacies of the renegade Liu Shao-ch'i had caused considerable harm among a section of intellectuals. This is a serious crime he committed in disrupting the transformation of intellectuals, and it must continue to be criticized in depth.

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IV

In order to make a success of the work of uniting, educating and transforming intellectuals, it is necessary to seriously execute and implement the various proletarian policies of the Party toward the intellectuals.

Chairman Mao once pointed out: "Comrades of the entire Party must know that having a correct policy toward intellectuals is one of the important conditions for the success of the revolution."

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "Toward the large numbers of graduates from institutions of higher education and middle schools who have long taken up or have just now taken up work, attention must be given to their re-education and to enabling them to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants. Those who have made a success of integration and who have invented or created something should be reported as encouragement. Those who are really bad, namely, those diehard capitalist roaders and bourgeois technical authorities, must be struck down if they incurred the great wrath of the people, but they are only a very small minority. Even these people should also be given a way out. A policy which does not provide for a way out is not a proletarian policy. The above-mentioned policies should all be of such a nature as they apply to both new and old intellectuals in the departments of literature and physics." The general spirit of this directive is to ask us to correctly handle the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the contradictions among the people--the two different types of contradictions, to mobilize all positive factors, and to do everything possible to turn negative factors into positive factors so as to make them serve the socialist cause.

We must have faith in the great majority of intellectuals. Among them, many are from families of exploiting classes, and their histories are relatively complicated. Influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, they have made this or that mistake. But, we must see that the great majority of them love their country and are willing to serve the people and undergo reform, and they can be reformed. There are indeed counter-revolutionaries and diehards, but they are only a very small minority. Only by proceeding from this can we solidly acquire the desire to unite with the great majority of the intellectuals and increase our confidence in their re-education.

We should believe that after thorough criticism of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the majority or the great majority of intellectuals are able gradually to integrate themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and rid themselves of the old ideas which they had received from bourgeois education in the past. In this way, they will be able to make contributions while serving the people, and some of them will have their inventions and creations.

In the course of re-education, those who have properly integrated themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers and who have invented and

created something should be encouraged and their examples should be used to educate other intellectuals. Ageing intellectuals who support the socialist revolution should be united with and helped to make progress. Arrangements should be made for their living.

In the case of those intellectuals who committed mistakes, emphasis must also be laid on education and re-education, and ideological and political work must be done in a patient and delicate manner. "It is necessary to expand the scope of education and narrow the scope of attack," and "there must be a way out." As regards those intellectuals who are good people making the mistakes of capitalist roaders, when they have awakened and are forgiven by the masses, they should be liberated in time and given appropriate work; they should be encouraged to go among the workers and peasant masses to transform their world outlook. As for bourgeois reactionary academic authorities, we should first criticize them and then see what the results are, or first criticize them and then use them, or first criticize them and then support them in living. In short, while their thinking is criticized, they should be given a way out. Adoption of this policy will more favorably encourage those who had made serious mistakes to confess and correct their mistakes; it will prove advantageous to dividing and disintegrating the enemy and to consolidating the proletarian dictatorship.

The implementation of the various proletarian policies of the Party toward the intellectuals is bound to meet with the interference from Right or "Left" erroneous tendencies, and a small pack of class enemies will also come out to carry out sabotage and disruptive activities. This requires us to seriously study and comprehend Chairman Mao's theory of correctly separating and handling two different types of contradictions and his teaching that the proletariat "can and must unite with the great majority of people around itself and isolate and attack a small handful of enemies to the maximum." We must firmly take the proletarian stand, persevere in the Marxist-Leninist scientific method of investigation and study as consistently advocated by Chairman Mao, and do meticulous work. It is necessary to be alert against the working style of doing things roughly, against the subjective working style of substituting thoughts or sentiments for policies, or against the liberalist working style of neither resisting nor struggling against the Right or "Left" mistakes. Only thus can the Party's policies be implemented in an all-round manner and their power brought into full play.

The tempest of the great proletarian cultural revolution has caused the broad masses of intellectuals in our country to undergo the training and test of the extremely acute struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. In this splendid work Chairman Mao exhorts us, saying: "If within the period of the next several five-year plans, relatively more people among our intellectuals are able to accept Marxism and know more about Marxism through practice of work and living and through the practice of class struggle, production and scientific practice, that will be good. This is our hope."

We believe that under the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice Chairman Lin as the deputy, and provided that we persistently apply the proletarian lines, principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao in this splendid work and in a series of instructions on the question of intellectuals, then a force of new-type proletarian intellectuals that genuinely serve proletarian politics and serve the workers, peasants and soldiers will certainly be developed and expanded gradually and it will, as it should, contribute to the Chinese and world revolution.

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Mao Tsetung Thought Lights Up the Way for Advance of China's Medical Science

by

Hou Ch'in-wen (侯勤文)

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Guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and impelled by the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, China's medical and health work has made vigorous progress and made many amazing achievements, opening bright vistas in the sphere of medical science.

The great Mao Tsetung thought has illuminated China's road to the development of medical science. As the people of the whole country, heroic and combat-ready, step into the great 1970's, it is important for them to further study Chairman Mao's brilliant thought concerning the development of China's medical science, to sum up their experience in carrying out Chairman Mao's instructions, to conduct revolutionary mass criticism in depth and to make a success of the struggle-criticism-transformation in this sphere.

Wholeheartedly Serving the Laboring People Is the Fundamental Orientation in Developing China's Medical Science

The question of "for whom" determines the basic direction in the development of medical science. In class society, medical science always serves a particular class. It is developed in different directions under different social systems.

In feudal society, the landlord class always devises all ways and means to utilize medical science to serve its own interests and safeguard its feudal rule in an endeavor to turn medical science into a means for the feudal landlord class, emperors and princes, generals and ministers and a small number of people to achieve "longevity." In capitalist society, medical achievements are monopolized by the bourgeoisie, and medical science is regarded as a "commodity" for reaping profit, for them to exploit the people and to amass a fortune. In imperialist and social-imperialist countries, medical science has even become a tool for the imperialists to carry out their policy of aggression. For thousands of years, all exploiting classes have turned medical science--a branch of science originating from the laboring people that should serve the laboring people--into something owned by a few people, thus expropriating from the broad masses of laboring people the rights due them. With political power in the hands of the proletariat, this reversal of history has been reversed once again.

In our great socialist China, medical science is the common wealth of the laboring people. Medical science in the service of the people is the core of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in health work, the basic demand of medical science by the socialist system, and also the basic direction in the development of medical science.

The great leader Chairman Mao is consistently most concerned with the health undertaking of the people. As early as the period of new democratic revolution, he pointed out: "We should be actively concerned with the prevention and treatment of the diseases of the people and should expand the people's medical and health undertakings." He also pointed out: "Isn't so-called national health empty talk in the main if it is alienated from the 360 million peasants?" During the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, Chairman Mao gave a series of important instructions on health work and explicitly defined the line and general and specific policies in health work, thus pointing out the road forward for the development of medical science in China. It was precisely under the guiding light of Chairman Mao's proletarian line in health work that not long after liberation, China quickly controlled and wiped out many epidemics and infectious diseases that gravely endangered the health and lives of the people, thus changing the tragic scene of "choked with weeds and incontinent sick crumble a thousand hamlets, and abandoned to the devils' song were yet more homes."

However, "correct political and military lines are not produced and developed naturally and safely." Since the founding of the People's Republic, around the question of "for whom", there has long been a violent struggle between the two lines in the medical sphere. Renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i hidden in the Party and his agents in health establishments obstinately carried out a counter-revolutionary revisionist line in health work that served only a small number of people, and they frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian line in health work. They were against serving the 500 million peasants, and were also against serving the working masses and other laboring people. In medical and health work, they laid stress on serving a small number of people in the cities--actually the bourgeoisie. They exerted their utmost to spread the "foreign slave philosophy" and the "doctrine of creeping along at a snail's pace," and disseminated the fallacy that "health work is extraordinary technical work, thus dragging medical science into the blind alley of standing aloof from politics, reality and the masses. They also peddled the contrabands of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism, and desperately advertized technique above everything else and gaining fame and prestige to corrupt and poison people's soul. As a result, some medical personnel fostered the tendency to be concerned for personal position and gain and to yearn for a comfortable life, and they were unwilling to share weal and woe with the masses. Some of them even sank into the quagmire of revisionism. Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in health work has thus hampered the development of medical science in China.

The great leader Chairman Mao sharply criticized and repudiated in 1965 Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in health work. He hit the nail on the head pointing out that the Ministry of Health was the "Ministry of Health of the urban lords." He also issued to the broad masses of medical personnel the great call: "In medical and health work put the stress on the rural areas."

The great proletarian cultural revolution destroyed Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters and severed his clutches on the health establishments. The broad masses of medical workers creatively studied and applied Chairman Mao's works in struggle, and their consciousness in the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines was raised as never before. They cherished even more Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and hated intensely Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They came to understand deeply that to implement and carry out Chairman Mao's great instruction, "In medical and health work, put the stress on the rural areas," constituted the basic direction in persisting in putting medical science in the service of the people.

Carrying red precious books, thousands of revolutionary medical personnel made their way out of tall and big buildings for mountainous and rural areas. They went deep into the grassroots levels to strike root among the masses, to be re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers and to serve the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. Inspired by Chairman Mao's great call and educated and helped by the workers, peasants and soldiers, they kept the whole situation in mind, planted their feet on their own work posts, brought into play the revolutionary spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," and worked wholeheartedly in the prevention and treatment of diseases for the workers, peasants and soldiers. In accordance with Chairman Mao's instruction that "it is necessary to launch the mass movement in any kind of work," they integrated health work with the mass movement and pushed forward the medical and health undertakings of the people in toto.

The new socialist system of rural cooperative medicine blossomed in all corners of the fatherland like the dazzling flowers in the mountains, and a new development was brought to the cause of rural medicine and health. A new army of "barefoot doctors" deeply welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants sprang up like dandelions in a spring lawn and grew vigorously.

The new method of medical treatment that makes combined use of Chinese traditional medicine and Western medicine and the mass movement for the prevention and treatment of common diseases and recurring diseases with Chinese medicinal herbs are developing swiftly and vigorously. Medical and health work in the broad countryside is undergoing tremendous revolutionary changes. By combining the revolutionary bearing with the truth-seeking spirit, the broad masses of medical personnel and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have performed one miracle after another. Despite crude equipment and inadequate experience, they have successfully removed a big tumor weighing 90 catties--an "incurable ailment" according to the diagnosis of the bourgeois "experts." A small silver needle has enabled the mute to cry the fortissimo of the era "Long live Chairman Mao," the blind to see with joy the Red Sun, and the paralytic to stand once again. A new method of medical treatment which is simple and convenient to use has effectively conquered the chronic K'oshan disease. A limb severed in three parts has been successfully rejoined. A fire-fighting hero who had 98 percent of his body burned and a young Red Guard fighter whose heart stopped beating

for 25 minutes have been given another lease of life. The appearance of these new things of unlimited vitality and miracles that have never occurred before on the medical and health front in China is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian health line, a great victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is also the rich fruit obtained by the broad masses of medical personnel through persisting in the basic direction of putting medicine in the service of the people.

These rousing new achievements have once again eloquently proved that Chairman Mao's teaching, "The question of 'for whom' is a fundamental question, a question of principle," is an unbreakable great truth. Only by persisting in the basic direction of facing the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the majority can the broad masses of medical personnel, re-educated by the workers, peasants and soldiers, continuously wipe out the pernicious influence of counter-revolutionary revisionism and transform their old ideas in practical struggle; work neither for fame nor gain and fear neither hardship nor death; ever seek refinement, fight with all ways and means to defend the health of the people and rather test the needle a thousand times on themselves than to use wrongly the needle on a patient, thus bringing about the development of medical science. Only by persisting in the basic direction of facing the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the majority can they conscientiously implement the policy of "giving primary consideration to prevention," keep in close touch with the masses, rely on the masses, integrate the development of the medical science with the hundreds of millions of the masses, and solve the question of preventing and treating common diseases and recurrent diseases--a question which the masses need most to solve. Only by persisting in the basic direction of facing the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the majority can they overcome the bourgeois idea and work style of not yielding to each other and not keeping each other informed, bring into play the communist spirit of cooperation by learning from and supporting and aiding each other, make concerted efforts, and quickly attack and capture the numerous difficulties in medical science. Only by persisting in the basic direction of facing the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the majority can they free their minds of restrictive ideas; emancipate themselves ideologically, arouse the dauntless revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, dare to take the road and scale pinnacles that had not been taken or scaled by other people before, and bring about the forward development of medical science in big strides. Only by persisting in the basic direction of facing the workers, peasants and soldiers and serving the majority can they make medical science better protect the most important productive forces in society and serve the effective strength of the armed forces, the leap forward in production, the cultural and technical revolution, the proletarian dictatorship, the strengthening of preparedness against war, the defense of the fatherland and the defeat of all aggressors.

As far as the broad masses of medical personnel are concerned, to persist in the correct direction of serving the majority and oppose the erroneous direction of serving only the minority is a profound ideological revolution. The change from a "high-class doctor" serving a small number of

people in the city to a "barefoot doctor" serving the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, from waiting for patients in a magnificent building to carrying a medicine-box to the home of the patient, from riding the high horse and severing oneself from the masses to discarding one's haughty airs and serving as an ordinary laborer, embodies drastic changes in thought, in work style, in working and living habits and touches every medical worker to the soul.

Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, quite a number of medical workers have undergone change in thoughts and feelings in the process of serving the poor and lower-middle peasants, and their outstanding achievements in work are warmly welcomed by the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants. In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese medical personnel sent abroad bring the internationalist spirit of the proletariat into play. Fearing neither hardship nor fatigue and serving the world people with a whole heart, they have performed many touching deeds in saving lives and helping the wounded and are unanimously praised by the people of different countries. This is the outcome of the broad masses of medical personnel steadfastly taking the revolutionary road of "serving the Chinese people and the people of the whole world" as taught by Chairman Mao.

However, there are also a few medical personnel who have not truly solved the question of "for whom." Consequently, they hover and waver in the face of this great change. Although some people have gone to the countryside, yet they think of the city. Some individuals have also spread certain fallacies saying that "it is a misfortune to be a doctor," that "scientific research work is exceptional and those engaged in scientific research cannot go to the countryside," etc. People of this kind yearn for the big cities and hospitals. What they diligently consider is personal loss and gain, and what they lack is the idea of serving the people with a whole heart. In their minds, there is still a bourgeois "kingdom."

The facts give the best answer. Many new medical techniques and achievements of China come not from the "experts" and "scholars" who confine themselves to laboratories and are divorced from the masses, but from the broad masses of medical personnel and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers who are full of life in their broad world. "The lowly are the wisest and the elite are most stupid." Those who have acquired the proletarian world outlook of "completely" and "thoroughly" serving the people, have firm faith in the masses and rely on the masses will become the wisest, the bravest and most unselfish. The "small potatoes" also can perform miracles in the world that are beyond the dream of the "bigwigs." Contrary to this, nothing could be achieved by cutting oneself off from the masses and "building a cart behind a closed door."

The "theory of it is a misfortune to be a doctor" and the "theory of scientific research work is exceptional" are a reflection of the fact that the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line has not been completely wiped out, a manifestation of the bourgeois world outlook under the new situation, and obstacles to the successful development of medical science in the direction of serving the people.

Chairman Mao says: "The transformation of the world outlook is a fundamental change." "We certainly must shift our standpoint, and in the process of keeping in close touch with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, of plunging into the heat of the practical struggle, and of studying Marxism and learning from society, we certainly must gradually shift ourselves to the side of the workers, peasants and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat." Chairman Mao's great teaching is the beacon light guiding the broad masses of medical personnel to transform their world outlook and to revolutionize themselves ideologically, and is also the basic direction for the development of new medical science in China. Only by transforming our world outlook and shifting over to the side of serving the majority can we find the correct political orientation, energetically throw ourselves into the three great revolutionary struggles, dare to make exploration and revolution, correctly understand and transform the world, correctly understand and conquer diseases, continuously scale new pinnacles of medical science and bring about the new development of medical science in China. We should go on to criticize and repudiate all kinds of work style of the bourgeois "lords" that are divorced from the masses so that the broad masses of medical personnel may firmly establish the thinking of serving the laboring people with a whole heart.

Materialistic Dialectics a Powerful Ideological Weapon for Developing China's Medical Science

Materialistic dialectics and metaphysics have always contended in the sphere of medicine. Materialistic dialectics holds that man's knowledge of diseases and ability to conquer diseases are evolving and advancing, while metaphysics holds that they are at a standstill, fixed and changeless. Materialistic dialectics holds that diseases are closely linked with man as a whole, while metaphysics holds that diseases are isolated phenomena. In the struggle against diseases, materialistic dialectics sees things as well as human beings and brings the role of man's subjective initiative into full play, while metaphysics sees only things but not human beings and puts blind faith in technique and equipment. Metaphysics is the world outlook of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, the reaction of social progress and an obstacle to the development of medical science. Materialistic dialectics is the world outlook of the proletariat, the strong ideological weapon for the proletariat to understand and transform the world, and is also a strong ideological weapon for the development of medical science. The struggle between materialistic dialectics and metaphysics in the sphere of medicine is essentially the reflection of the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, the two lines in the sphere of medicine.

The great leader Chairman Mao points out: "The task of a communist is to bare the erroneous thinking of reaction and metaphysics, to propagate the inherent dialectics of things, to bring about the transformation of things and to attain the goal of the revolution. Only by employing Chairman Mao's materialistic dialectics to understand and reform the world, to understand and reform self, to guide medical practice, to bare, criticize and repudiate continuously the erroneous thinking of metaphysics and wipe out its influence in the sphere of medicine can medical science be developed by leaps and bounds.

Some bourgeois medical "authorities" who firmly adhere to the metaphysical viewpoint regard their limited experience in medical practice and things recorded in medical documents as constant, absolute truth, and they often arbitrarily describe certain diseases as "incurable." For example, they think that "death is inevitable" for one who gets burned over 80 percent of his body or who suffers third-degree burns over 30 percent of his body, that a severed limb "cannot be rejoined" after six hours, that "there is no possibility to revive a person" whose heart has stopped beating for six minutes, etc. They also describe these as insurmountable "limits" in medicine.

Materialistic dialectics tell us that all things in the world are in motion and developing, and man's knowledge and transformation of things are also ceaselessly developing. Chairman Mao says: "The movement of change in the world of objective reality is never-ending and so is man's cognition of truth through practice." Man's knowledge of diseases also proceeds from not knowing to knowing, from knowing not much to knowing more, and medicine also gradually develops. There is no absolute "incurable disease" in the world. The emergence of any disease is based on certain conditions, and so long as there is such a disease, man can, in the process of fighting it, gradually learn the internal and external factors responsible for its emergence and find a way to overcome it. Just as what was regarded as an "incurable disease" in the past can be cured today, an "incurable disease" of today can also be cured tomorrow provided we know it and feel out its laws. To be sure, this calls for arduous efforts and we also might fail.

However, the advocate of the theory of "incurable disease" regards a disease that cannot be cured today as one that absolutely can never be cured. This is a viewpoint based on "everything is at a standstill", on "pessimism", on "nothing can be done." This metaphysical viewpoint is entirely not in correspondence with the historical facts relating to the development of medical science.

For example, the aftermath of infantile paralysis is considered by all bourgeois medical "authorities" at home and abroad as "incurable" and an "insurmountable difficult barrier" in so-called medical history. However, the ordinary medical personnel of our PLA, through arming their heads with Mao Tsetung thought and guiding practice with materialistic dialectics, have finally created a new therapy that leads to the transformation of this "incurable disease" into a curable disease. In point of facts, some so-called "incurable diseases" are only used by the bourgeois medical "authorities" to cover up their ignorance and incompetence and to justify their refusal to serve the workers, peasants and soldiers. Although the words "curable" and "incurable" are only slightly different, yet they reflect the struggle between two kinds of world outlook in the sphere of medical science.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Within the confines of struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind is always developing continuously and so is nature, and they will never stop at one plane." Medical theory develops continuously in practice. The so-called "limits"

recorded in medical documents are formed under certain historical conditions and are not things absolute. So long as Chairman Mao's philosophical thought is used to guide our medical practice, we certainly can discover new therapeutics, create new techniques, blaze new trails and develop new theories. We certainly can rectify the wrong things and shatter those so-called medical "limits." As a matter of fact, some so-called medical "limits" have already been shattered by the Chinese medical personnel armed with Mao Tsetung thought.

Some bourgeois medical "authorities" often regard the emergence and development of diseases as isolated phenomena. Determined by the subjective, one-sided and superficial character of their way of thinking, they often lay hold of a point in medical practice, see the phenomenon but not the essence, pay attention to the part but neglect the whole. Consequently, they cannot feel out clearly the laws governing the emergence and development of diseases through conducting comprehensive study and analysis, nor can they concretely analyze the contradictions and changes in the various aspects of a disease and dialectically make diagnosis and give treatment.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Marxist philosophy holds that the law of unity of opposites is a fundamental law of the universe." The human body is at all times in the state of unity of opposites, and the different parts within the human body maintain close contacts with each other, struggle against each other, depend on each other for existence, and are linked with and restrained by each other. The emergence of a pathologic change at a certain part of the human body can affect the whole body or other organs, and the condition of the whole body also can influence the pathologic change of the part. We must have an all-round and dialectical knowledge of the relationship between the part and the whole, seize hold of the essence by way of the phenomenon before we can correctly understand the disease, take the initiative to give treatment and derive the expected result by curing the disease.

Take the treatment of fracture of a bone for illustration. One school of view holds that this can be done only through "complete rest and immobilization." They see only the broken bone but take no account of the whole limb and the whole body. They see only the unfavorable aspect of the movement of the injured limb to the setting of the bone, but see not the favorable aspect of the movement of the injured limb to the setting of the bone. They see only the favorable aspect of immobilization to the healing of the bone but fail to see its unfavorable aspect to the healing of the bone and to restoring the functions of the whole limb. This method of paying isolated attention to the part but not the whole has many shortcomings because it runs counter to the laws governing the physiological activity of the limb, hampers the activity of the whole limb and the whole body, causes the bone to heal at a slower rate, calls for longer time of treatment, does a poor job in restoring the functions of the limb and brings about many complications.

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching that "the law of unity of opposites is the basic law of the universe," the revolutionary medical personnel of China have absorbed the merits of the Western medicine in correct

setting and of Chinese traditional medicine in fixing the bone with small splints, thus properly solving the relationship of unity of opposites between "rest" (the fixing of the broken part of the bone) and "motion" (the activity of the injured limb at the early stage), between the part and the whole. In this way, the relative fixation of the part is maintained and the unfavorable activity of the ends of the broken bone is effectively controlled on the one hand. On the other hand, conditions are created for the activity of the whole limb and the whole body, thus enabling the limb to exercise its functions properly during the time needed to heal and set the bone. The favorable role of the activity to the healing of the broken bone is thus brought into full play, and consequently, conspicuous results are obtained by enabling the broken bone to heal faster, cutting the time of treatment, better restoring the functions of the limb and incurring less complications. This new therapy is applicable to the most commonly seen broken bones in all parts of the body, including the two bones of the forearm which are more difficult to set, thus impelling the treatment of broken bones a big step forward. This is entirely a victory of materialistic dialectics over metaphysics.

When dealing with the relationship between human beings and things, those adhering to the metaphysical viewpoint often show blind faith in technique, medicine and equipment, but disregard the human factor and the strength of the masses. In the course of treating diseases, they pay no attention to politics or ideology, and they give no consideration to the role of the subjective initiative which the patients can bring into play to combat diseases.

The great leader teaches us: "Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive." In the battle against diseases, we must first bring the human factor to the fore and bring the role of man's subjective initiative into full play. The conditions of technique and equipment are of course important, but they are not the decisive factor. We should put Mao Tsetung thought in command of technique and equipment. When conditions are available, we should bring their role into full play. When conditions are not available, we also should, through our own efforts, energetically create conditions and fight against diseases.

Going deep into rural and mountainous areas, the plateau, frontierland and outlying islands, many medical teams which are poorly equipped and short of experience--relying on invincible Mao Tsetung thought and the wisdom and strength of the masses and cherishing profound proletarian feelings for the worker-peasant-soldier masses--have successfully performed all kinds of complex operations in small valleys and on brick beds, cured many difficult diseases and saved the lives of many class brothers on the brink of death. A small medical team sent by a certain hospital of the PLA to the Tsinghai-Tibet plateau on a snowy mountain 5,000 meters above sea level has successfully removed from an emancipated woman serf of Tibet nationality a liver cyst weighing 30 catties. Without bringing the role of man's subjective initiative into full play, this could not have been done.

The fundamental cause of the development of things lies in the contradictory character within things. Chairman Mao says: "The external factor is the condition of change while the internal factor is the basis of change, with the external factor functioning through the internal factor." This is also so with the treatment of diseases. Medicine is important but it must go through the internal factor of man before it can play its functions. The patient's mental condition, physical constitution, age, labor habits and other factors bear most importantly on the degree of efficaciousness and speed of medical treatment. Consequently, in the course of giving medical treatment, it is necessary to study the case to the fullest extent, and prescribe the right medicine. Furthermore, it is necessary to carry out meticulous ideological and political work in light of the characteristics of the patient so that the role of the his subjective initiative may be brought into full play. The patient should possess a strong fighting will against his disease and peace of mind so that he may arouse the vigorous functions of the various organs of the body and mobilize and strengthen the disease-resistant factors within his body.

The broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers have a high degree of political consciousness, and many cases of their depending on their strong revolutionary fighting will and coordinated medical treatment to overcome critical diseases can be told. A young woman worker was burned over 98 percent of her body, and although she was gravely menaced by third or fourth-degree burns over 88 percent of her body, yet through creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought and bringing the revolutionary spirit and tenacious fortitude of the tough working class into play, she overcame all difficulties and recovered. With a purple heart bent on defending Chairman Mao and the socialist fatherland, a pilot with a tenacious revolutionary will overcame cancer and flew once again. Contrary to this, influenced by Liu Shao-ch'i's "philosophy of staying alive," some people either underwent prolonged recuperation after a minor illness or looked so downcast that they seemed to have been overwhelmed by illness. Although they were not seriously ill, yet they also could not be cured after a long treatment. This shows that the subjective mental factor of the patient has a great bearing on the defeat of diseases. Dominated by metaphysical thought that sees things but not human beings, it is not possible to bring about the forward development of medical science.

To promote materialistic dialectics and oppose metaphysics is a protracted and arduous task of struggle in the sphere of medicine and the ideological and cultural domains. Taking the bourgeois stand and proceeding from the motive of extreme egoism, one is bound to sink into the metaphysical quagmire. One must steadfastly take the proletarian stand and establish the proletarian world outlook of serving the people with a whole heart before one can consciously master and apply materialistic dialectics. Consequently, in order to break away from the entanglement of metaphysics and employ in the true sense materialistic dialectics to guide medical practice, the most important thing is to arm the heads of the broad masses of medical personnel

with Mao Tsetung thought and thoroughly transform their world outlook. Only by shattering bourgeois "self-interest" and establishing proletarian "public interest" can metaphysics be smashed and materialistic dialectics established.

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Freedom is the knowing of necessity and the transformation of the objective world." In the sphere of medicine, the development from the "realm of necessity" to the "realm of freedom" must rely on Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical thought. By continuously wiping out the influence of metaphysics in accordance with Chairman Mao's materialistic dialectics, China's medical science is moving forward along the road of developing medical theory and scaling the new pinnacle of medical science.

Combining Traditional Chinese Medicine with Western Medicine Is the One and Only Way for Developing China's Medical Science

Traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology are a great treasure house. The great leader Chairman Mao long ago pointed out that traditional Chinese medicine should unite and cooperate with Western medicine and that the knowledge and methods of modern science should be employed to consolidate and study the traditional medicine and pharmacology of China so as to create the unified new medicine and pharmacology of China. This is an arduous and glorious historical task set before the broad masses of the practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine in China. Taking the reactionary stand of national nihilism, however, renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in health establishments obstinately pushed through the "foreign slave philosophy" and the "doctrine of creeping along at a snail's pace." They discriminated against, repudiated and totally negated the traditional medicine of the fatherland, frenziedly defied Chairman Mao's proletarian health line, and wantonly undermined the traditional Chinese medicine policy defined by Chairman Mao. They edged out and prohibited traditional Chinese medicine, smothered Chinese pharmacology and adopted a disdainful attitude toward folk prescriptions and medicinal herbs. In their eyes, anything of foreign origin was "scientific" and all things of Chinese origin were "unscientific." This exposed to the full extent their despicable and slavish look as the comprador-bourgeoisie. Their criminal plot was to undermine the combination of traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine so as to impede the forward development of the medical science of China along the correct line indicated by Chairman Mao.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of medical personnel strongly denounced Liu Shao-ch'i's towering crimes, and came to understand deeply that the combination of traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine, as instructed by Chairman Mao, was the one and only way for the development of medical science in China.

The traditional medicine of China has a history of several thousand years, is a summary of the extremely rich experience of the Chinese people in their protracted struggle against diseases, and has made enormous contributions to the multiplication and prosperity of the Chinese nation. Western medicine is a branch of medicine that has developed along with the development of modern natural sciences. Employing the knowledge and methods of modern science it also is the crystallization of the wisdom of the laboring people and has also accumulated much experience in the struggle against diseases. Developed under different historical conditions, these two branches of medicine have each its merits and demerits, and none of them can take the place of the other. Consequently, when dealing with traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, we must--in accordance with Chairman Mao's guideline of "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" and "weeding out the old to let the new emerge"--adopt their essence and discard the dross, continuously sum up and improve things, overcome the weakness of one by acquiring the strong points of the other, supplement one with the other, and finally produce a qualitative leap and create China's unified and unique new medical science. This is entirely in correspondence with the law of scientific development.

As a concentrated expression of the essence of ancient and modern, Chinese and foreign medicines, this brand-new, advanced medicine can better protect the health of broad masses of the laboring people and meet the demand of the Chinese socialist revolution and socialist construction for medicine. Meanwhile, it is also an important contribution to the development of medical science in the world.

Since the liberation of the whole country and especially since the great proletarian cultural revolution, a new look has appeared and many achievements have been gained in the unity and cooperation of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine and in the inheritance and development of the essence of the traditional medicine of the fatherland. Certain traditional Chinese arts of healing and medicines, after due study and analysis, have been put to broader use, and many traditional Chinese therapeutics have been greatly developed and made more efficacious. Having learned from and united and cooperated with each other over a number of years, the broad masses of practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine have created different ways for combining traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine and have accumulated abundant experience.

According to need, some cases are diagnosed both by practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine and practitioners of Western medicine. Treatment is then given along the line of Chinese traditional medicine and the results of treatment are jointly observed by the practitioners of traditional Chinese medicine and of Western medicine for the purpose of summing up experience. Some cases are diagnosed and treated with both traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, and the weakness of one branch is overcome by acquiring the strong points of the other, thus improving the efficacy of treatment. Through combining traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine, we have created some new therapeutics which are much better than the use of traditional Chinese medicine or Western medicine alone,

and solved problems which neither traditional Chinese medicine nor Western medicine can solve independently.

Since the great proletarian cultural revolution, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian health line, the broad masses of medical personnel, through bringing the revolutionary spirit of daring to think and to act into play, have further developed and created some new therapeutics that are unique to China. These new therapeutics are new things brought into being by combining the methods of treatment of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, and they represent a good beginning for China to create its unified new medicine and new pharmacology. Once the universal laws and theoretical mechanism of these new therapeutics are mastered by way of repeated application and deep-going research, a new leap will necessarily be brought to the development of medical science and another remarkable page will be written in the history of modern medicine.

Judged by the initial results obtained through combining traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine, it has been possible to prove fully that the great leader Chairman Mao's instruction concerning the combination of traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine and the employment of modern scientific knowledge and methods to consolidate and improve the medicine of the fatherland is boundlessly wise and correct.

At present, the key to combining traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine still lies in the learning of traditional Chinese medicine by practitioners of Western medicine. Right now, the learning of traditional Chinese medicine by practitioners of Western medicine is only at the initial stage, and such learning must be more extensively and intensively organized before the practitioners of Western medicine can inherit faster and better the essence of the traditional medicine of the fatherland. Meanwhile, the unity and cooperation of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine must be promoted so that they can jointly serve the health of the people. The practitioners of Western medicine must conscientiously study traditional Chinese medicine before they can bring the role of modern scientific knowledge into full play, distinguish the essence from the dross in traditional Chinese medicine, consolidate and improve this branch of medicine, and assume the important task of creating a new medical science.

The most important obstacle to the learning of traditional Chinese medicine by practitioners of Western medicine is the influence of national nihilism deep in their minds. Consequently, they must ceaselessly heighten their consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's instruction concerning the combination of traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine, carry out revolutionary mass criticism in a deep-going and sustained manner, wipe out further the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, eradicate various erroneous ideas held by a section of practitioners of Western medicine toward traditional Chinese medicine, and overcome their suspicion and wait-and-see psychology. Meanwhile, they also must guard against the thought of "reviving the old" impeding the healthy development of the combination of traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine.

Experience shows that in learning from the traditional Chinese medicine, the practitioners of Western medicine must link theory with reality and they must especially emphasize clinical practice. They cannot learn by rote from books and delve into theory. Otherwise they cannot digest and will soon forget what they have learned, and results will be unsatisfactory.

To study and consolidate the abundant experience of the medical science of the fatherland, it is necessary to begin with clinical research, and by way of conducting repeated clinical practice and on the basis of affirming and continuously improving the efficacy of traditional Chinese medicine, to sum up experience and find out the laws governing treatment with traditional Chinese medicine. After that, experimental research should be conducted further with modern scientific methods, and the essence of the theory of traditional Chinese medicine and its therapeutic theory should be explained and raised to the plane of modern science for guiding clinical practice. In this way, the practitioners of Western medicine can see for themselves that the traditional Chinese medicine is highly efficacious for the treatment of diseases, thus raising their confidence in learning from traditional Chinese medicine and arousing their enthusiasm for the study of such medicine. It is possible to absorb the broad masses of medical personnel to take part in research in traditional Chinese medicine so that a broader section of the masses may be involved in the study and consolidation of this medicine. The efficacy of traditional Chinese medicine can be raised continuously so that the laboring people can be better and more swiftly absolved from the agony of illness. The theory of traditional Chinese medicine can be studied purposefully and discriminately to yield faster results so that double the results can be obtained with half the work. At present, in regard to acupuncture and some new therapeutics which are commonly used in practice and have been proved to give good results in medical treatment, we should energetically organize forces to conduct research work so that the functions and theory of these therapeutics can be scientifically explained and so that these therapeutics can be consolidated and developed.

The present mass movement for the prevention and control of diseases with new therapeutics, folk prescriptions and medicinal herbs, which is being launched with enthusiasm in China's medical circles, is most important and of far-reaching significance. The use of "a needle" or "some herbs" to treat diseases according to local conditions is easy to carry out, economic and convenient. These therapeutics are highly efficacious for the treatment of various common diseases and recurrent diseases, much to the welcome of the laboring people. They play an enormous role in protecting the health of the laboring people, in enabling the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in the countryside to receive speedily, opportunely and universally effective treatment, and in consolidating the system of cooperative medicine warmly welcomed by the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Chinese medicinal herbs can be obtained and processed locally. They are inexhaustible and form Nature's storehouse of medicine that cannot be destroyed in time of war. They are of great importance for carrying out to the letter Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be prepared against war,

be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." Meanwhile, these therapeutics are most convenient for practitioners of Western medicine to learn and apply, and are of advantage to promoting the combination of traditional Chinese medicine with Western medicine and the creation of China's new medicine and new pharmacology. Consequently, we must attach special importance to and energetically promote the study and application of these therapeutics. The ideological obstacle to slight these "indigenous methods" must be swept away. As to the folk prescriptions of proven efficacy, we should consolidate and improve on them in the course of application by getting rid of the dross and retaining the essence, by discarding what is false and retaining what is true. It is necessary to launch energetically a mass movement for the gathering, planting, processing and use of Chinese medicinal herbs. In this way, under the guiding light of Mao Tsetung thought, a mass movement for unearthing the great medical treasure of the fatherland will be launched even more vigorously and China's medical science will necessarily emit an even more dazzling light.

With the broad-mindedness and foresight of a great proletarian revolutionary, Chairman Mao has pointed out for us the bright road to creating China's new medical science. The new medical science of China with Mao Tsetung thought as its theoretical base is the new medical science for the Chinese people to serve wholeheartedly the revolutionary people of the world, a new medical science guided by materialistic dialectics, the unified medical science based on the combination of Chinese traditional medicine with Western medicine in the course of being developed. Under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought, an excellent situation is emerging on the medical and health front of China, and the magnificent scene of the rapid and forceful development of the new medical science has unfolded before people's eyes. Chairman Mao's teaches us: "China should make a greater contribution to mankind." We are convinced that provided we arm our minds further with Mao Tsetung thought, firmly implement and carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian health line, trust and rely on the masses, further arouse the thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, embrace ambitious designs, adhere to our own posts, bear the fatherland in mind but set our eyes on the world, we certainly can fulfill faster the great historical mission of creating China's new medical science and make greater contributions to mankind.

(Note: This article discusses only some experience gained from the study of Mao Tsetung thought in the aspect of developing medical science, but does not cover work as a whole in the field of medicine and health.)

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Rely on Our Own Efforts, Run Medical Work Diligently and Frugally

by
the Revolutionary Committee of Chinch'iao Brigade,
Icheng hsien, Kiangsu

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Guided by the great leader Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people," our Chinch'iao Brigade, through self-reliance and running medical work diligently and frugally, has operated cooperative medicine better and better.

Through training "barefoot doctors" ourselves, we have set up a medical network. The brigade has "barefoot doctors" and each production team has one or two health workers not detached from production.

Since the implementation of cooperative medicine in November 1968, we have gathered and planted ourselves in the first year 10,014 catties of Chinese medicinal herbs. The income of 1,702 yuan exceeded the annual expenditure by 19 percent, and the balance carried forward amounted to 24 percent of the medical expenses.

Beginning in November 1969, we changed to unified planning of expenditure to give commune members free medical treatment and also abolished the registration and visiting fees. We persisted in the policy of "prevention," thus causing the incidence of diseases to drop by 40 percent compared with the time prior to the implementation of cooperative medicine.

In giving medical treatment, we principally used Chinese medicinal herbs, and in the year 1969, of the 2,589 cases treated, 72 percent were treated with folk prescriptions, medicinal herbs and a new form of acupuncture. The brigade runs its own medicinal herbs store which processes and manufactures medicines itself. There are at present 516 varieties of Chinese medicinal herbs, and ordinary prescriptions can be dispensed without leaving the brigade. The 12 production teams each have a medicinal herbs room constantly stocked with 80 or 90 varieties of medicines. Each of the 248 families is in possession of about ten folk prescriptions and medicinal herbs. All these achievements have been won under Chairman Mao's brilliant thought on "independence and self-reliance" and represent the great victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian medical and health line.

In more than one year of work, we have deeply come to understand that in order to run cooperative medicine well, one must think in terms of serving the poor and lower-middle peasants with a whole heart. Not long after the implementation of cooperative medicine, there appeared the phenomena of too many patients, too many visits and too much medical expenses. At the time, there arose among a section of the masses the thought that "unified

planning puts them at a disadvantage." Among the cadres, some also suggested that commune members coming for medical treatment should be required to pay three kinds of fee (registration fee, visiting fee and operation fee) at a higher rate and that unified planning should not cover patients who are senile, injured or suffering from chronic diseases and whose medical treatment costs more than three yuan. They were of the view that unless this course was taken, cooperative medicine could not be consolidated. The majority of the masses and cadres were opposed to taking this course of action. They held that the people must be served with thoroughness, that the three kinds of fee should not be increased but should be abolished altogether, that no restriction should be placed on patients who are senile, injured or suffering from chronic diseases, and that such patients should be helped to seek complete cure group by group in a planned manner. A violent dispute around this question arose.

The revolutionary committee of our brigade was aware that this was not an ordinary dispute but a big question bearing on the orientation of cooperative medicine. With this question in mind, we conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's instructions, intensively conducted investigation and study and extensively solicited the views of the poor and lower-middle peasants. Through investigation, it was discovered that of the 45 patients who are senile, injured or suffering from chronic diseases in the whole brigade, 87 percent of them are poor and lower-middle peasants. When cooperative medicine came into operation, happy and inspired they said: "This is good because when a person is ill, he can draw help from 1,000 people. We owe our happiness to the leadership of the Party." We also discovered that the three kinds of fee also constituted a heavy burden to those commune members who were frequently sick.

"The question of 'for whom' is a fundamental question, a question of principle." Chairman Mao's proletarian medical and health line is for the purpose of serving the overwhelming majority and consolidating the proletarian dictatorship. From such investigation we learned a profound lesson and understood further that in order to run cooperative medicine in the countryside, one must serve the poor and lower-middle peasants with a whole heart. We ran various types of study courses in Mao Tsetung thought, again and again carried out to the letter Chairman Mao's instructions concerning medical and health work, and intensively carried out revolutionary mass criticism. All people declared: "Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist medical and health line was in the service of a few urban lords and capitalist restoration. In operating cooperative medicine and taking Chairman Mao's medical and health line today, we should serve the people through to the end and should not "impose restrictions." If we cast only economic accounts but not political accounts, merely think of "money" but give no thought to the "line," and adopt the method of restriction toward medical care for commune members, then although the medical expenses can be cut, yet what is actually cut is the class feeling toward the poor and lower-middle peasants, thus running counter to Chairman Mao's proletarian medical and health line." Everybody heightened his consciousness by way of study.

When ill, many commune members consciously avoided treatment with Western medicine whenever it was possible to use folk prescriptions for treatment, avoided the use of expensive medicine whenever cheap medicine could be used, and avoided treatment with medicine whenever treatment could be effected with new acupuncture. All people declared: "Every cent saved for cooperative medicine means the display of deeper feelings for the class brothers and a bit more strength for carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line."

Chairman Mao's medical and health line made its way deep into people's minds and greatly aroused the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses for self-reliance and running medical work diligently and frugally. When there was not enough money or medicine, the poor and lower-middle peasants declared: "So long as the road of 'self-reliance' indicated by Chairman Mao is taken, all difficulties can be overcome." In accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we fiercely criticized renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's medical and health line that smothered Chinese traditional medicine and medicinal herbs, set great store by what was foreign and slighted what was indigenous. We aroused the masses to hand out and hand down medical prescriptions and to study and teach medical knowledge. We mobilized the old peasants to hand out their secret prescriptions, organized the doctors to pass on effective prescriptions, held exhibitions of folk prescriptions and medicinal herbs, taught knowledge of folk prescriptions and medicinal herbs, set up "medicinal herbs gardens" for planting wild medicinal herbs, sent men to the commune hospital to learn pharmacology from the pharmacologist, and solved one difficult problem after another.

We collectively planted nine mow of medicinal herbs that were rare in the locality. Meanwhile, we also organized medicine-gathering teams to gather medicinal herbs locally. Once the masses were organized, there was a huge inflow of medicinal herbs. During the season in which basil grew luxuriantly last year, the masses seized hold of the opportunity to launch a crash gathering program, and they gathered more than 1,000 catties within three days. When the health unit of the brigade needed river oysters for cultivating pearls, more than 120 militiamen of the whole brigade made use of rest time at noon on two days to fish out more than 6,900 oysters. When centipedes were required for breeding, the masses caught more than 100 in two days. When the oysters were opened up, some commune members discovered pearls, and they carefully removed such pearls and sent them to the health unit. Some commune members discovered a few stalks of sunflowers and they removed the core from the sunflower stalks and brought them to the health workers. More than 20 old peasants in the whole brigade handed out more than one hundred folk prescriptions and effective prescriptions. From the medicinal herbs planted and gathered in the whole year, apart from keeping a part for own use, more than 6,000 catties were used in bartering for other medicinal herbs with the hsien medicine company. The poor and lower-middle peasants joyously declared: "Chinese medicinal herbs are treasures that cost little but are effective for medical treatment. There is an abundance of medicinal herbs and it only takes us to look for them ourselves. Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people. Rely on our own efforts for medical treatment."

We steadfastly took the road of self-reliance, and selected from the whole brigade a number of outstanding poor and lower-middle peasants' children for training as "barefoot doctors" and health personnel. For this contingent of medical and health personnel, we took the "three constantly-read articles" as the basic teaching material and medical practice as the classroom. Adopting the method of "learning warfare through warfare," we saw to it that they learned politics before learning medicine, that they were taught ideology first and that they studied and enhanced themselves in practice so that they might grow to maturity under the nursing of Mao Tsetung thought. By studying diligently and undergoing hard training, they have generally learned to distinguish more than 100 varieties of medicinal herbs and to practice first aid, clinical nursing, inoculation, labor protection and new acupuncture. They are able to master 70 or 80 spots for application of acupuncture, and have played the role of the leading group in the struggle for running medical work diligently and frugally on the basis of self-reliance. They work neither for fame nor for gain, and they earn work points like other commune members.

Since the introduction of cooperative medicine, the "barefoot doctors" of the brigade have all along persisted in giving itinerant medical treatment. They set up clinics in the fields, regarded homes as hospital wards, and delivered medical treatment and medicine to the door. They declared: "We are the descendants of poor and lower-middle peasants. In order to devote our red hearts to Chairman Mao and work wholeheartedly for the people, it is necessary to send old man Chairman Mao's warm concern into the heart of every class brother."

When a poor-peasant commune member suffered from pneumonia, the "barefoot doctor" went to his home three times a day to give medical care and deliver medicine. The "barefoot doctor" also helped the patient boil water. When it was inconvenient for a patient to concoct medicine at home, the health unit of the brigade sent the concoction to his home. There was a commune member who had been diagnosed by several big hospitals in other places as suffering from the "incurable disease" of carcinoma uteri in the last stage. Cherishing profound class feelings for poor and lower-middle peasants, the "barefoot doctor" of the brigade devised all ways and means to treat her with folk prescriptions and medicinal herbs, and because of this, her disease had taken a turn for the better. Of the 45 patients suffering from chronic diseases in the whole brigade, because they were given fundamental treatment group by group, 38 of them have been cured.

There was in the Chaochuang Production Team a health worker who for the purpose of practicing new acupuncture had applied the needle to his own body scores of times. He declared: "I must learn from the Liberation Army, and like the PLA comrades who threw open the prohibited area of deaf-muteness, I would rather wrongly pierce myself a hundred times than to apply the needle in the wrong place on the patient once." He utilized his rest time of his own

accord to treat a poor peasant suffering from arthritis with acupuncture. Sometimes, when he came across a patient who feared that the insertion of the needle might cause pain, he gave a demonstration by inserting the needle into himself. At the same time, he propagated Chairman Mao's teaching of "fearing neither hardship nor death" to have the patient prepared ideologically. The commune members warmly praised him saying: "The native doctor is good because he serves with circumspection, knows the ailment as well as the mind of the patient, is brought up locally and is therefore of good stock."

Looking back over the course of fighting in the past year or more, we have come to understand profoundly that running medical work on the basis of self-reliance is a road boundlessly broad and full of vitality.

By taking this road, it is possible to integrate peace time with war time, store up medicines for medical treatment, and implement better Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters and do everything for the people." The masses observed in reflection: "Many years of suffering have been severed with a knife and the body is relieved of illness of many years standing. Many persons have been given another lease of life, thanks to Chairman Mao's great benevolence."

By taking this road, it is possible to make full use of the labor power of the old and the weak and of the natural resources. The old people and children who seldom went to work in the past now become a positive force in the gathering of medicine, and the snake shells, honeycombs and footstalks of musk-melons which were of no use in the past now become good medicines. The masses said in praise: "The idle people are no longer idle and there are no more waste things. Everybody contributes his strength toward the search for treasures everywhere."

From now on, we are resolved to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, continue to bring into play the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, and forever march forward along Chairman Mao's proletarian medical and health line.

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Put Mao Tsetung Thought in Command of Cultural Studies

by
Revolutionary Committee of Peking No. 31 Middle School

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Gist of content: This article sums up concretely the preliminary experience gained in conducting socialist cultural studies and criticizes the erroneous ideas and the several one-sided viewpoints on the relationship between politics and culture.

In the "16-Point Decision" drawn up under Chairman Mao's guidance it was pointed out: "A tremendously important task of the current great proletarian cultural revolution is to reform the old system of education and the old policy and method of teaching." In the revolution of education, how to bring proletarian politics to the fore and to occupy the front of the cultural studies is a problem which urgently awaits solution at present.

Cultural studies take the greatest part of the student's time for school activities. Conducted in many ways, they have an enormous influence on the shaping of a student's world outlook. For a long time in the past, however, the old system of education underscored the policy of "putting intellectual education in the first position." As a result, the pernicious influence of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism made further inroads in cultural studies. The important front of cultural studies must be occupied in order to exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the sphere of teaching and learning and to carry out the series of Chairman Mao's directives on the proletarian revolution of education. Belittling this front means belittling the revolution in education; forsaking this front also means forsaking the revolution in education. Our school, led by the army-worker Mao Tsetung thought propaganda team stationed in it, has constantly regarded the taking of this important front as a hard struggle.

Formerly some people said that the purpose of the cultural studies was to learn cultural knowledge and to solve the problem of intellectual education. It seems to them that bringing proletarian politics to the fore was exclusively the content of the political course and that it was unnecessary, and also impossible, to bring politics to the fore in cultural studies, particularly studies of mathematics, physics and chemistry. This viewpoint is utterly wrong. Chairman Mao teaches us: "All work in school is for changing the student's thinking." In school, not only are political activities and manual labor aimed at changing a student's thinking, but all cultural courses, including mathematics, physics and chemistry, are, without exception, primarily, aimed at changing the student's thinking. In fact, there is absolutely no such thing as a course of "pure" culture alienated from politics. In any course of study and in any lesson, there is always a guiding thought which plays a dominating role. Either proletarian politics or bourgeois politics is brought to the fore, and it is one or the other.

A cultural course dominated by the revisionist line of education disseminates the ideas of "putting intellectual education in the first position" and "establishing personal fame" and peddles large quantities of black goods for feudalism, capitalism and revisionism. Its purpose is to bring bourgeois politics to the fore and to serve the restoration of capitalism, whereas, our socialist cultural course takes Mao Tsetung thought as the command and brings proletarian politics to the fore. Its aim is to change the student's thinking and to cultivate his proletarian world outlook. This is the most fundamental distinction between the new and the old cultural courses.

In Bringing Politics to the Fore in Cultural Courses, Politics Must Be Put in Command of Knowledge

Though the teaching platform is small, it has always been a "bone of contention" between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The point under dispute is: the politics of which class should be used to occupy the teaching platform?

How, after all, should proletarian politics be put in command of cultural knowledge? After groping in the dark, we have criticisms to make against the following several erroneous viewpoints:

One of the erroneous viewpoints is to set politics against knowledge, holding that if politics is brought to the fore in cultural courses, there will be less time for teaching knowledge and the quality of study will be impaired. This actually reflects the revisionist virus that "the time of study is the constant while the quality of study is the variable; the more time is allowed for study, the better the quality." Different classes have different standards of quality of study and have different ways to improve the quality of study. Under the old system of education, the "knowledge" which was alienated from politics, from practice and from the masses, and the academic method of "improving the quality of study," as Lenin pointed out, only served to "train obedient and able slaves exclusively for the bourgeoisie." In our cultural courses, proletarian politics is brought to the fore and the students are guided to establish the correct purpose of studying for the revolutionary cause, so as to arouse their consciousness and enthusiasm in studying conscientiously. This not only heightens the students' ideological consciousness, but also improves the quality of their study. It is entirely wrong to use the so-called "improvement of quality of study" to negate the necessity of bringing proletarian politics to the fore.

Another viewpoint is to replace knowledge by politics, holding that the longer one devotes to the study of politics, the better, and that cultural courses should be conducted exactly in the same way as the political course. This viewpoint of judging the extent to which politics is brought to the fore by the duration of time devoted to the political course is metaphysical. Under the revisionist line of education, some lessons do not look like publicly disseminating the bourgeois political viewpoint, but they are wholly imbued with the bourgeois world outlook. Take, for example, the class on "atomic structure" taught in the past. Politics was not mentioned at all. But, in the whole lesson, the reactionary viewpoint of "combining two into one" was applied in explaining the problem. After the great proletarian

cultural revolution, the teachers have heightened their political consciousness. In teaching the class on "atomic structure," they now do not talk much about political theories, but they do put Chairman Mao's brilliant philosophical idea of "dividing one into two" in command of the whole lesson. Therefore, whether or not politics is brought to the fore in teaching in a cultural course is judged mainly by whether or not Mao Tsetung thought really plays the commanding role.

A third viewpoint is to alienate politics from knowledge. In teaching a lesson, some teachers first spend some time on politics and then, as they did in the past, exclusively teach cultural knowledge. This method of "politics is politics, and knowledge is knowledge" and "politics plus knowledge" does not put the proletarian politics in command of knowledge, but changes politics into an "appendix" to knowledge. This is an individualistic theory. It is actually another expression of "putting intellectual education in the first position" under the new situation. To bring politics to the fore in a cultural course does not mean to separate politics from knowledge, to talk about politics by alienating it from knowledge or to talk about knowledge by alienating it from politics; it means to take the proletarian politics as the soul of knowledge and to make politics run through cultural studies.

Still another viewpoint holds that, if the proletarian politics is brought to the fore, cultural knowledge will be unnecessary and may take a longer or shorter period of time to acquire. The teachers even fear that if too much time is devoted to teaching cultural knowledge, the lesson may again become "putting intellectual education in the first position." This viewpoint also is one-sided. We oppose "putting intellectual education in the first position" but this does not mean we repudiate intellectual education. We suggest putting politics in command of knowledge, but we do not mean to repudiate knowledge. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." The proletariat has always taken the grasp of scientific and cultural knowledge as an important means to carry out socialist revolution and construction and as an important aspect of the triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The cultural knowledge which does not mention socialism actually is beneficial to the bourgeoisie, not the proletariat. It is an expression of not bringing the proletarian politics to the fore.

Carrying out revolutionary mass criticism penetratingly and perseveringly after studying and applying in a living way Chairman Mao's idea of revolutionizing education, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers of our school, with heightened consciousness for bringing politics to the fore, have put right the relationship between politics and knowledge and paid serious attention to putting Mao Tsetung thought in command of cultural courses, making Chairman Mao's viewpoint assume command when teaching in class, and organizationally and repeatedly applying this viewpoint when imparting the content of a lesson into the students' minds, so that in this lesson politics is brought to the fore and knowledge is taught penetratingly and thoroughly.

When teaching the lesson, "combustion and extinguishing of fire," a chemistry teacher induced the students to repeatedly study Chairman Mao's teaching, "The external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and external causes become operative through internal causes." Quoting the example that the workers of our school rebuilt the water boiler in such a way that lignite was used as fuel instead of coal, she asked the students: "Why is lignite combustible? Why is ordinary rock incombustible under normal conditions?" The students answered: "Because lignite contains coal, which is the internal cause of combustion. Ordinary rock does not have this internal cause." She asked again: "Why is it that lignite cannot be used as fuel before the water boiler is rebuilt?" The students replied: "Because the space in the boiler is small before it is rebuilt, and the amount of air in this space is small, so the amount of oxygen is insufficient and the lignite cannot be ignited. The problem of external cause has not been solved." She conducted three experiments simultaneously: One comprised a sheet of paper stained with phosphorus, and the paper burned in the air without being ignited with fire; the second experiment comprised gasolene, which also burned as soon as it was ignited with a burning match; the third experiment comprised turpentine, which could not be ignited with a burning match but was ignitable while heated. Then, she induced the students to study Chairman Mao's teaching: "Qualitatively different contradictions can be resolved only by qualitatively different methods." This made the students further understand the relationship between different internal causes and different external causes. This lesson easily went from combustion to the extinguishing of fire. Since any matter needed certain conditions for its combustion, that is, external causes were needed, it could not burn when these external causes were discarded.

After teaching the use of the fire extinguisher, she again asked: "If US imperialism and social-imperialism launch a war of aggression against China and if public property is on fire but we do not have fire extinguishers by us, what should we do?" After the students gave their correct answers, she made a summing-up, saying: "The workers of our school have rebuilt the water boiler through self-reliance. Lignite is used to boil water, saving more than 3,000 catties of coal a month for the State. Some heroes extinguished the fire by covering it with their own bodies, protecting the public property. What does this demonstrate? This demonstrates that as combustion needs proper conditions, so does the extinguishing of fire. But, the factor of man is primary." Before concluding the lesson, this teacher led the students to study Chairman Mao's teaching: "Of all matters in the world, man is the most valuable. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, any miracle can happen if there is man." This made the students understand more deeply the teaching given by Chairman Mao. In our opinion, in this lesson, the proletarian politics has been brought to the fore and knowledge well taught; Mao Tsetung thought has been put in command of teaching, and the relationship between politics and knowledge handled relatively well.

To Bring Politics to the Fore in Cultural Studies, It Is Necessary to Closely Follow the Current Situation and to Grasp the Living Ideas

We have learned deeply from practice that, to bring politics to the fore, the cultural courses must closely follow the current situation and be linked with the reality of the three great revolutionary movements. To integrate theory with practice is one of the most outstanding marks distinguishing the socialist cultural course from the old cultural course. To integrate theory with practice is not only for the purpose of teaching knowledge deeply and thoroughly but, what is more important, it is also for the purpose of bringing the proletarian politics to the fore and conducting ideological education among the students and making them take a better part in the three great revolutionary movements in the future. The three great revolutionary movements develop very quickly. To really integrate theory with practice, we must closely follow the current situation. Some comrades have blurred ideas, asking: "Closely follow the current situation? As new content appears every day in the newspapers, how can I catch up? Moreover, if the current situation is to be followed, is there still need for teaching materials?" In our opinion, the new trends and the new problems arising in the class struggle and the new matters emerging and new achievements gained in the production struggle and scientific experiments should be reflected in the socialist cultural courses, so that the students may be educated and inspired continuously during the development of the three great revolutionary movements. The teaching materials are needed, of course. But, we should not take hold of the teaching materials without letting loose as we did before. The new teaching materials at present have dealt with the problem of integrating theory with practice. But the teaching materials are lifeless while man is not. We should take the teaching materials as the basis and closely follow the current situation and continuously replenish them with some fresh content where necessary. Only in this way can we bring the proletarian politics to the fore in a better way in a cultural studies and closely integrate them with the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and conduct ideological education among the students with still greater success.

In dealing with this question, our school once showed two different tendencies: one was the extensive quoting of concrete examples while neglecting teaching of fundamental knowledge; the other was the complete alienation of cultural knowledge from the current situation. Through study and practice, all gradually understand that the study at the middle school stage is chiefly for the purpose of laying a good foundation for the students to take part in the three great revolutionary movements in the future and, therefore, the purpose of integrating cultural studies with practice is to give the students ideological education and to make them know how to apply their fundamental theories in the three great revolutionary movements, and not to substitute practice for theory. To integrate cultural studies with the current situation is aimed continuously to add new content to cultural courses and heighten the students' ideological consciousness under the guidance of the all-round viewpoint and in conjunction with the current situation, and not just talk about the current situation without referring to the knowledge taught.

After overcoming these tendencies, many comrades racked their brains to think of some good methods to closely follow the current situation and to integrate knowledge with practice. For example, when a teacher taught the students the mathematical concept of the positive and the negative numbers, he took as an example our country which has now been free from debts both at home and abroad, and collected some relevant data to show that income exceeded expenditure in China's budget. The excess is a positive number, which is represented by "+" (plus sign). US imperialism was in debt at home and abroad for hundreds of billions of dollars as a result of its oppression at home and aggression abroad. The excess of expenditure over income was marked in red in the account. This is the "red figure" as is often mentioned in newspapers and a negative number represented by "-" (minus sign). The teacher made a comparison by drawing diagrams on the blackboard. This made the students quickly grasp the concept of the positive number and the negative number and understand more deeply the incomparable correctness of Chairman Mao's dictum, "The enemy rots with each passing day, while for us things are getting better every day," and see more concretely the superiority of the socialist system.

To make the proletarian politics play a commanding role in cultural courses, another important aspect is to grasp the students' living ideas in the cultural courses and to apply Mao Tsetung thought in correctly and promptly solving problems in their studies.

At first, some comrades held some erroneous ideas about the grasping of living ideas. For example, "it is easy to grasp living ideas at ordinary times but not in the class"; "it is easy to grasp living ideas in the courses of liberal arts, but not in the science courses and the course of military physical culture"; "the students have plenty of living ideas; it is sufficient just to take some of them to be solved in the class," etc. Through study, all realized that: with changes taking place in the current situation, in the curricula and in the form of activities, living ideas may emerge at any time among the students. It is easier to grasp the living ideas in the courses of liberal arts, but it is also entirely possible to grasp the living ideas in other courses of study. The key lies in grasping them to the point. In the cultural courses, grasping of living ideas should be conducted in connection with the content of teaching and should not replace other political activities.

For example, the course of military physical culture in our school at first remained at the stage of political inspiration. Later, after studying and applying Chairman Mao's works in a living way, the teacher further enhanced his consciousness of bringing the proletarian politics to the fore and paid serious attention to grasping the living ideas emerging from among the students at any moment in class. In a lesson, a student inadvertently threw a hand-grenade only a few meters away. At that moment, this student took no heed of this matter and other students also did not take this matter seriously. The teacher immediately picked up the hand-grenade and quickly threw it away. He asked the students immediately: "If we are now in a battle and the enemy is over 30 meters away, what would happen if we throw the hand-grenade only a few meters away?" The students answered: "It will be very bad. Our men are in explosion range and the enemy will charge against us."

The teacher went on: "Chairman Mao teaches us to 'go all out to wipe out the invading enemy without fail.' What has happened just now will cause casualties among our class brothers. What is more important is that the enemy has not been wounded but will dash at us. It will be serious if we lose our ground. Let us imagine what will the Liberation Army do should a similar incident happen?" The students said unanimously: "The Liberation Army fears neither hardship nor death. To wipe out the enemy and to protect the comrades-in-arms, the PLA fighters would pick up the hand-grenade again and throw it away if even they have to sacrifice themselves. Many such heroic deeds have been carried in newspapers." Because the teacher pays serious attention to grasping living ideas, giving living education and constantly bringing proletarian politics to the fore in class, not only have the students been strengthened physically and learned military knowledge, but the organizational discipline and the concept of real combat have been further strengthened.

To Bring Politics to the Fore in Cultural Courses, Teachers Must Be Urged to Revolutionize Their Thinking

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The question of teachers is the most important question in the transformation of education." To bring politics to the fore in the cultural courses, the teachers of the cultural courses should first bring politics to the fore. To change the students ideologically in the cultural courses, the teachers should first strive to change their thinking and revolutionize their thinking well.

At the beginning, some comrades held that: the teachers of our school were intellectuals trained in old schools and had been influenced by fuedalism, capitalism and revisionism and learned knowledge that was alienated from practice, from politics and from the masses. These people should not be relied upon to bring proletarian politics to the fore in the cultural courses. One way is to totally relieve these teachers and let the workers, peasants and soldiers ascend the teaching platform; another way is to bring up the matter again when these teachers have been remolded successfully. Under the leadership of the worker-PLA Mao Tsetung thought propaganda team stationed in the school, all conscientiously studied Chairman Mao's proletarian policy toward intellectuals. They held that the teachers must be treated by the method of dividing one into two and that it is necessary to see that they have been influenced by the old ideology and are willing to make revolution. These teachers should not be relieved totally. It is necessary to invite the workers, peasants and soldiers and the revolutionary young fighters to ascend the teaching platform; it is also necessary to develop the active role of the existing ranks of teachers, and we should not wait passively. We must help the teachers take the road of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers. We also must help them "gradually establish the communist world outlook in the course of work and study." We should lead them to consciously change the course of transforming education into a course of destroying the self and establishing devotion to the public and transforming world outlook.

Enlightened ideologically, we have constantly put in the first position the tight grasp of the revolutionization of the teachers' thinking in the revolution of education, and regularly held Mao Tsetung thought study

classes and application meetings to lead all to repeatedly study the "three constantly-read articles" and Chairman Mao's idea of revolution of education, and to criticize the revisionist line of education and the various erroneous ideas. Those teachers who have made achievements in the transformation of world outlook and in the revolution of education have been commended many times at meetings. As serious attention has been directed by us to carrying out Chairman Mao's policy toward intellectuals, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers have greatly aroused their revolutionary enthusiasm and fully played their role in the revolution of education.

Having firmly grasped the revolutionization of the teachers' thinking, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in a living way, have heightened their consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and carried out "four destructions and four establishments"--destroying the "theory that it is misfortune to teach" and establishing the sense of glory for a revolutionary teacher to bring up successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause; destroying the "theory that it is dangerous to teach" and establishing the sense of responsibility for the Party's undertaking of education; destroying the idea of fearing hardship and fatigue and seeking life's comfort and establishing the will to defy hardship and death and carry the proletarian revolution of education through to the end; destroying the idea of passively "waiting for other people to show their experience" and establishing the spirit of daring to think and to overcome difficulties and fighting bravely for establishing a new proletarian system of education. The broad masses of revolutionary teachers replace "fear" with "courage" and "waiting" with "overcoming difficulties." With the invincible Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon, they overcome countless difficulties and get together with the workers, PLA fighters and revolutionary young fighters to compile the program of education, the programs of teaching of various courses, and part of the teaching materials. In the course of studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought in a living way, the broad masses of revolutionary teachers have combined the transformation of the objective world with the transformation of the subjective world.

Ideological revolutionization helps the teachers greatly heighten their consciousness and enthusiasm in bringing politics to the fore in the cultural courses. Before the great cultural revolution, the teachers prepared lessons together for the more purpose of unifying the speed of teaching, the important points and the difficult points. In short, they tried to achieve unification in knowledge. Now when the teachers prepare lessons, they first achieve unification in putting Mao Tsetung thought in command of the content of teaching, in integrating theory with practice and following the current situation, and in carrying out Chairman Mao's method of teaching. In short, they achieve unification politically in the first place. To bring proletarian politics to the fore in the cultural courses, it is insufficient to depend on the effort of only one man and it is necessary to develop the force of the collective. Now when the teachers for one course prepare their lessons, those for other courses also join them on their own initiative. They say: "While of the courses has its characteristics, the basic problem of bringing politics to the fore is in common. There is similarity between two different courses. Your groping for experience has enlightened us."

We have learned from practical work that thinking is the most important problem in teaching the cultural courses well and, in addition, there is the problem of method. We on the one hand help the teachers study and apply Mao Tsetung thought in a living way and fight self and criticize revisionism and, at the same time, following Chairman Mao's teaching of "combining the leaders with the masses and the general with the individual," go deep among the masses to firmly grasp the typical cases and use them to guide the situation as a whole. Bearing in mind the problem of how to bring proletarian politics to the fore in the cultural courses, we go down to discover, bring up, sum up and popularize the good models in various cultural courses. In the lessons which had long been considered as relatively abstract, such as those dealing with atomic structure, molecular formula, molecular weight, and other problems in mathematics, we fully display collective strength and have gained some initial experience. Because the teachers bring politics to the fore and explain cultural knowledge clearly in the lessons, the students love the cultural courses more and more. The "theory that study is of no use" has an ever narrowing market among the students. The students said happily: "We can understand, memorize and apply these lessons. Not only have we gained something culturally, but we have been educated ideologically as well. These lessons are useful indeed!"

Vice Chairman Lin pointed out in his political report to the "Ninth Party Congress": "Whether or not the proletariat can firmly occupy the cultural and educational fronts and transform them by means of Mao Tsetung thought is a crucial problem of whether or not the great proletarian cultural revolution can be carried through to the end." To carry out the proletarian revolution in education is a long-term and arduous task. In thoroughly reforming the old system of education and establishing a proletarian new system of education, there is a lot of other things to do and a big number of problems to be solved. But, we firmly believe that only if we act exactly in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, we can surely transform the old schools in a thoroughgoing manner in accordance with the outlook of the proletariat and run it as a bright-red great school of Mao Tsetung thought. We are resolved to take Chairman Mao's great idea of continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as the guide, to make revolution continuously and to press ahead forever.

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Are Young People "Difficult to Handle"?

- A question of understanding in carrying out ideological work among young workers

by

Lu Yung (路客)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Dictated by the needs for the furtherance of the revolution and the struggle for production, many industrial and mining enterprises in our country have been taking on groups of young people, thereby injecting fresh blood into the ranks of the working class. Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, nursed by Mao Tsetung thought and re-educated by the working class, these young people have steadily raised their consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and have become all the more vigorous.

The realistic struggle shows that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for winning over young people is still very acute at present. Owing to the fact that many young people have come from old schools and been influenced by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist educational line, some comrades have, to a greater or lesser extent, shown non-proletarian ideas. This poses for us a problem of intensifying the political and ideological education for young workers.

In strengthening ideological work for young workers, a kind of theory, which is known as the "young people are difficult to handle" theory, is hampering us from doing ideological and political work penetratingly and patiently. Very often, under the influence of this theory, some advocate dispensing with education for young people or adopt a simplistic approach. Both tendencies are wrong. To make a success of youth work with the aid of Mao Tsetung thought, it is imperative to make clear what the "difficult to handle" theory is.

"Young people today are different from young people yesterday. They can talk and are really difficult to handle." Here is the problem of how to evaluate the youth. Indeed, young people, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution, are different from young people of yesterday. In the past, some youngsters, poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, were like "little lambs" lacking in revolutionary spirit. Now, repeatedly tested in class struggle, large numbers have emerged from among the young people who read Chairman Mao's books, heed his words, firmly carry out his instructions, and wage struggle against words and deeds contrary to Mao Tsetung thought. Such proletarian revolutionary spirit cannot be described as "difficult to handle." We should be pleased at having such a revolutionary younger generation. This is the main aspect of things and it should be acknowledged in the first place.

Some young people have been subject to anarchist influence. This requires us to explain the truth clearly and explain to these young comrades that the proletarian spirit of organization and discipline is a necessary revolutionary spirit for the proletariat in waging revolutionary struggle, and that anarchism would demoralize the revolutionary ranks, destroy the wealth created by the laboring people, and erode the revolutionary will and vigor of the young people.

Some young people do not quite understand the sufferings in the old society, and this requires old workers to give them more class education. In the case of young people who have revolutionary zeal but are insufficient in scientific analysis, their good points must be affirmed and they should be helped to overcome their shortcomings. Special use must be made of the lessons learned from class struggle to enable young comrades to see the ruthlessness of the counter-revolutionary elements in order to increase their capacity for discernment and immunization. All these are not what we call "difficult to handle" problems; rather, they are precisely problems of doing more ideological education work in the light of young people's characteristics and of giving them correct guidance.

There is also the following situation. A very small number of young people, with their thinking more seriously eroded by bourgeois ideas or influenced to a great extent by their reactionary families, have unwittingly done this or that thing in contravention of socialist interests. As a result of this, some comrades feel that ideological work is "difficult to do." Is it due to the fact that young people are "difficult to handle"? No. Using this approach, one sees only the phenomenon.

The essence of things is a problem of class struggle: the exploiting classes want to win these people to their side while we want to transform them. In the case of the very small number of people--irrespective of whether they are young, middle-aged, or old--who have been done more harm by the bourgeoisie, we need to expend great efforts to help them eradicate these reactionary ideological viruses. Toward young people and teenagers, the means used by class enemies are often more tricky and dirty. To wage a struggle against the bourgeoisie is our duty, and it is a very long struggle. How can we shirk our duty on the excuse that young people are "difficult to handle"? Would we not, in that case, allow the bourgeoisie to poison the young people freely?

True, in the course of reforming their world outlook, these people often suffer from reversals in their thinking and inconsistency between words and deeds. They are indeed somewhat "difficult to handle". However, if only we do "prolonged, patient and meticulous work" and mobilize the broad masses of old workers and young activists to look after this small section of people, then most of the latter will turn from being "difficult to handle" to active forces.

Han Hsiao-ch'iang in the revolutionary model play "On the Dock," is, in the eyes of Captain Chao, a young man "difficult to handle." And Captain Chao wants to get rid of him. However, Fang Hai-chen, secretary of the Party branch, following Chairman Mao's teachings, firmly grasps the class struggle and

mobilizes everyone to help him and expose the bad people trying to corrupt young people. In the end, Han Hsiao-ch'iang changes over.

There is also a similar case in the Shanghai High-Voltage Condenser Plant. There a young man took up revolutionary rebellion quite early. But later, as he became "selfish," he showed a very strong bourgeois character. The result was that some comrades thought him to be "difficult to handle." Later still, the leadership of the Plant, having studied the high sense of revolutionary responsibility of Comrade Fang Hai-chen [in "On the Dock"] and firmly grasped the class struggle in the ideological sphere, finally had this young man educated and transformed.

Class enemies often make use of young people's lack of political experience or experience of social life and, in the name of "showing concern for young people," use a bad book, a glass of old wine, a cigarette, a theater ticket or bizarre dress to cause a breach and lead the young people to go astray, become their spokesmen and do what they themselves dare not do openly. When such plots are exposed before the young people, it is possible to arouse their anger, wake them up where they have been deceived and wage a resolute struggle against the enemies.

The opposite of "difficult to handle" is "easy to handle." Some comrades regard those young people "who meekly study techniques and engage in production to please somebody" as "easy to handle." On the other hand, they regard those young people "who like to discuss things, good or bad" and who like to make suggestions as "difficult to handle." This is wrong. They say, "the purpose of young people in working in a factory is to 'learn business'; if they have not mastered the techniques, they should not talk 'this or that'." In these places, there is a strong tendency to attach too much importance to techniques and too little to politics. It is said that an instructor who has a set of good techniques is a "good instructor," and that a young apprentice who learns techniques well is a "good apprentice." There is no need to ask whether their politics and ideology are good or not. Comrades having such notions, although they too have criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, have nevertheless been more deeply eroded by "Liu's poison". And because they have become accustomed to following the old track, once they relax revolutionary mass criticism, they are prone again to "put techniques in command."

Toward such comrades, we must remind them that if they adhere to this "easy to handle" theory, they will in fact create a more "difficult" crisis. In the Shanghai Boiler Plant, there was a bad fellow who, raising the signboard of "imparting techniques", instilled into the minds of young people the fallacy that "if you do well in learning cutting, fitting and polishing, you can make a living anywhere in the world." He induced a young man to become expert only without being Red, causing him to almost fall into the quagmire of counter-revolution.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Having no correct political viewpoint means having no soul." On the question of training and educating young people, our industrial and mining enterprises must follow

Chairman Mao's teachings, unfold revolutionary mass criticism, and continue to eradicate the erroneous idea of "easy to handle," namely, the idea of attaching too much importance to techniques to the neglect of politics. When educating young people, we must put the firm and correct political direction in the first place and educate them with Mao Tsetung thought, the fine virtues of the working class, and the revolutionary traditions of arduous struggle and plain living. While teaching them techniques and business, we should also emphasize the need for them to "serve the people" "wholly" and "entirely."

In the case of those young people reported as being "fond of discussing things, good and bad," we must make class analysis. If what they say is compatible with Mao Tsetung thought, if they criticize the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, and if they make constructive suggestions concerning problems of work, then we should positively encourage them to do so. If they "gather in groups and talk nonsense all day long", creating anarchism, then we must criticize and educate them. We must not relax work on them because they have too many opinions and we must not refrain from criticizing incorrect viewpoints.

We must guide the young people to undertake serious study of Mao Tsetung thought, criticize all erroneous tendencies incompatible with Mao Tsetung thought and the interests of the working class, struggle against self-interest and criticize revisionism, and bravely correct the wrong ideas in their minds. We do not want them to shut their mouth on everything. Erroneous opinions can only be overcome with correct opinions. And erroneous viewpoints must not be covered up; otherwise, what seems for the time being "easy to handle" may with the passage of time become "difficult to handle." As for the isolated existing counter-revolutionaries who mingle with or are hiding behind the young people to stir up trouble, we must wage a resolute struggle against them, strike them down and discredit them. Isn't counter-revolution "easy to handle"?

There are also some comrades who have another reason for saying that "young people are difficult to handle": "Young people can well be supervised when they are in the factory, but how can we supervise them when they are off work?" This view is also wrong. Apart from the eight hours of work, the class enemies, in the name of showing "concern" for young people's spare-time cultural life, often make use of such forms as literature and art and the bourgeois ideas, ways of life and the force of old habits to spread poisons to corrupt the young people and undermine socialism. If we look after the young people only when they are working and not when they are not working, we will open the door for the bourgeoisie to corrupt the young people. Because of this, if we do give serious attention to the ideological work for young people, we should not draw a line of distinction between these eight hours and the other hours; instead, we should constantly grasp the work on young people and make arduous efforts to facilitate their growth.

Those comrades who hold the "theory that young people are difficult to handle" have one thing in common: they pay more attention to personal gain or loss and less to the vital task of training successors to the cause of proletarian revolution. In complaining about this or that "difficulty," they are actually afraid that if they fail to do their work well, the young people

may rebel against them. In their own words, they are afraid of "holding flour with wet hands, because the flour would stick to your hands and you would invite a lot of opinions." Thus, the simple truth is this: the theory that young people are "difficult to handle" is motivated by the bourgeois "self" and attributed to the fact that the remnant poison of the "theory that political work is dangerous" has not been completely eradicated. We hope that these comrades will give more thought to the interests of the revolution and to the vital task of training successors to the cause of proletarian revolution, that they will not be frightened by "difficulties" into inaction and wallow in the mire of individualism.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Grasping the ideological education is the central link of uniting the whole party to carry out the great political struggle. Party organizations and revolutionary committees in factories and enterprises must take as a major political task the strengthening of political and ideological education for young workers. Our Plants, by forming young workers' philosophy groups, mass criticism groups and young workers' writing groups, organize the young people to unfold revolutionary mass criticism, invite old workers to tell their past and compare it with the present, and guide the young people to make creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in the midst of struggle, thereby greatly mobilizing the revolutionary enthusiasm of young people and bringing about the appearance of a lively situation.

Stepping up ideological and political work for young workers and using Mao Tsetung thought to train successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution is a long-term strategic task. We must, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, grasp this work well. Practice proves that if only we step up the young people's political and ideological education, fully arouse their positive factors, and continue our offensive against the bourgeoisie, we shall certainly be able to enable young people to be trained through practical struggle into proletarian revolutionary fighters who have consciousness and can be tested--into a shock force in the struggle-criticism-transformation campaign. In this way, the younger generation of the working class will, nursed by the sunlight and dew of Mao Tsetung thought, grow up healthily.

(This article is a collective work by comrades of the Shanghai Boiler Plant, the Shanghai High-Voltage Condenser Plant, and other units)

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Put Proletarian Politics to the Fore, Step Up Spring Farming

by

Chao Feng-nien (赵丰年)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Amid the splendid victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution, we welcome the first spring of the great 1970s. Across the land the vast masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, and the masses of commune members and revolutionary cadres are displaying a burst of enthusiasm. They are going steadily and surely, grasping revolution and promoting production, stirring up a roaring upsurge of spring farming.

"The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of productive forces in our country." In the wake of the in-depth development of struggle-criticism-transformation in the countryside, the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought has soared as never before, giving an impetus to the ideological revolutionization of the cadres and the masses alike and further arousing their socialist activism.

Since last winter, the broad masses of commune members have continued to develop the socialist revolutionary spirit. Fighting against nature, they are engaged in building water conservation projects, levelling land, vigorously accumulating manure, and stepping up the field care for winter crops, thus making adequate preparations for winning still greater victories in agricultural production in the current year.

Under this inspiringly favorable situation, the key to winning the first battle of spring farming and propelling farm production forward, wave upon wave, lies with the leadership. We must arm our heads with our great leader Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must stand in the forefront of the movement, overcome various erroneous ideas that impede the development of the movement, and positively and enthusiastically lead the broad masses to grasp revolution and promote production with a view to harvesting a still more abundant crop in agricultural production this year.

Entertaining the erroneous notion that "production has reached its peak," certain comrades think that "since we have had bumper harvests in the past successive years, we have more or less reached our capacity to increase farm production further." In the midst of the new upsurge of agricultural production these comrades become conceited and complacent and cease to advance. This attitude is incompatible with the rapidly developing revolutionary situation!

At the present time, guided by Chairman Mao's great strategic policy of "heightening vigilance for the defense of the mother country" and

"preparing against war and famine and doing everything for the people," the people of the whole country are making their greatest possible contributions to speeding up the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Agriculture is the foundation of the national economy. Producing more grain, cotton and other farm and subsidiary crops and strengthening the material foundation of socialism--this is our most glorious task on the agricultural front. We must improve our production efforts year after year so that we can increase grain stocks correspondingly. Having a stronger material strength, we shall be able more effectively to cope with the aggressive war launched by any enemies and natural disasters, we shall be able to render better services to the people, and we shall ever be invincible should any contingency arise.

Those comrades having the notion that "production has reached its peak" fail to see such revolutionary needs; instead, they are contented with the achievements they have already made and halt their march. By doing so they will depart from proletarian politics and Chairman Mao's great strategic plan.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the fields of struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind always continues to develop, and so does the world of nature. Things would never remain at one level. For this reason, man must always continue to sum up experience, discover something, invent something, create something, and march ahead. The ideas of stagnation, of pessimism, incapacity, conceit and complacency are all wrong."

The theory that "production has reached its peak" is unfounded. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, the vast masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought in a creative manner, smashed the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. They ruthlessly repudiated such fallacies as "san-tzu i-pao" aimed at restoring capitalism. Their socialist enthusiasm soared still higher.

Spirit turns into matter. If we, in the course of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside, fully trust and rely on such enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants, we shall produce unlimited strength for the conquest of nature. So far as production potentials are concerned, great possibilities are also present. There are still many secrets in the sphere of production which we do not now know, and this demands that we continue to engage in practice, undertake scientific experiments on a massive scale, and carry out farming on a scientific basis. Those who say that "production has reached its peak" have simply failed to see these conditions extremely favorable to the development of production. They lack confidence in continuing to get high yields and sink into the state of blindness.

Of course, it will be a much more difficult task than it was in the past to achieve still richer harvests on the basis of continued bumper crops reaped. This demands that we work harder and carry out an arduous and persistent struggle. We must seriously sum up the past experiences in reaping

bumper harvests, seriously grasp the key factors for the increase of production in our own areas, tap the production potentials in various respects, and implement still better the "eight-word charter" for agriculture. In this way, it is entirely possible to reap still more abundant harvests.

That "production has reached its peak" is a manifestation of the idea that "revolution has come to an end." It is not that production has "more or less reached its limit," but that the thinking of these comrades is far from being consistent with the situation marked by development of revolution and production. Instead of going all out and aiming high in their march on developing production in depth and breadth, they look backward. Consequently, they stick to the old rules and are incapable of doing anything good. The struggle for production itself is a great revolutionary movement, and we can develop production continuously only when we continue to revolutionize our thinking.

"If we can make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation, spring farming will certainly be a success, and we need no longer be too concerned about how hard we work." This is an erroneous idea of forsaking leadership over production--one that will not be conducive to propelling a new upsurge of production.

The rural struggle-criticism-transformation campaign is a very profound socialist revolution. In this struggle, we have criticized and discredited Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, crushed his plot to restore capitalism in the rural areas, struck at the disruptive activities of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, and rightists, and increased the fighting capacity of the Party. As a result, political power in the countryside has been held firmly in the hands of the poor and lower-middle peasants, and the people's communes have continued to consolidate and develop themselves in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao. This is a pre-condition for the development of socialist agriculture on a larger scale. Such a situation precisely requires us to be good at channeling the enthusiasm of the masses to socialist agricultural production. Thus, it is not that we "need not work too hard," but that we must do large amounts of meticulous organizational work.

In socialist agricultural production, concrete organizational leadership is required for the sowing plan, crop arrangement, measures for increasing production, manpower allocation, production management, product distribution, etc. In the midst of a new upsurge of production, it is particularly important that we solve in time various newly-discovered contradictions, insure continued upsurge of socialist agricultural production, and provide stronger leadership. If we give up leadership, the socialist enthusiasm of the masses will not be fully developed or rationally utilized, their production plans will not be fully impelemented, and they may even be led astray by the class enemies.

It is imperative to use proletarian politics to command production. This is dictated by the need of socialist production as well as by that of

revolution. Chairman Mao teaches us: Rural political work "must be done in conjunction with economic work, and cannot be done in isolation." If we ignore the everyday production activities of the commune members, we cannot have proper connections with the masses, cannot understand their state of mind in time, and cannot grasp the new trends of class struggle. How, then, can we carry out the revolution penetratingly?

In the sphere of production, a sharp and complicated struggle between two classes, two roads and two lines is present in various respects. For instance, when it comes to the development of production, should we rely on ourselves and work hard or rely on the State and indulge in extravagant and wasteful practices. When we draft sowing plans, should we bring proletarian politics to the fore and conscientiously submit to the State plan or "put money in command" and carry out planting indiscriminately. And so on and so forth. If we do not lead production or neglect the class struggle in the production sphere, then we cannot carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation well in an overall manner.

There is also the preposterous theory that "it is safe to grasp revolution but dangerous to grasp production." This theory must be criticized. Those comrades who have this idea are reluctant to take care of production, and when work is allocated to them, they have many misgivings and do the work perfunctorily. They do not have a long-range goal for the development of collective production, nor do they seriously grasp the capital construction for agriculture. This is an extremely irresponsible attitude toward the socialist enterprise.

Most of these comrades were in the past poisoned rather seriously by Liu Shao-ch'i's "production first" theory and had made certain mistakes. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, armed with Mao Tsetung thought as weapon, thoroughly criticized the "production first" fallacy. However, these comrades were unable to correctly deal with the criticisms from the masses and negatively accepted the "lessons" in the sense that they failed to draw a clear line of demarcation between putting proletarian politics to the fore and grasping production well on the one hand and departure from the proletarian politics and the "production first" theory on the other. They simply went from one extreme to another.

Whereas they engrossed themselves in production in the past, they are now afraid of taking charge of production or refrain from taking charge of production. They think that in this way, they will not make any more mistakes. As a matter of fact, they have not put Mao Tsetung thought in command and proletarian politics to the fore, and even if they do not grasp production, they will still make mistakes.

The basic reason for the emergence of these erroneous ideas is still to be sought in the bourgeois "self" present in one's mind. They ignore the importance of developing socialist production, and consider problems from the standpoint of personal "safety" only. They are afraid of this and that. To get rid of "fear" which is contrary to the socialist interests, it is necessary first to eradicate the bourgeois "self".

That we use proletarian politics to command production and grasp revolution while promoting production does not mean at all that we do not need production. The "production first" theory is wrong not because production is grasped or a greal deal of effort is expended on production, but because proletarian politics is ignored with the result that one takes care only of grain, cotton and oil without distinguishing between friends and enemies and with the result that the direction for production is lost.

Is it really "dangerous" to grasp production? No. We grasp production for the sake of the revolution, and socialist production at that. What is the danger of doing that? When we insist on putting Mao Tsetung thought in command, thoroughly implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and use revolution to lead production, we shall have a clear direction and see clearly ahead. Grasping production in this way is vital to the building of socialism. What is the danger of doing that?

Chairman Mao teaches us: Politics is the commander and the soul. The relationship between revolution and production is forever that between the commander and the led. This relationship cannot be reversed or replaced. We must seriously and comprehensively implement the great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production." In the midst of the new upsurge of production, we must give special attention to the continued development of the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought, bring proletarian politics to the fore, raise the revolutionary vigilance, guard against and hit at the sabotage of the class enemies. We must, in conjunction with production activities, penetratingly unfold the revolutionary mass criticism, eliminate the remnant poisons of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, criticize the capitalist tendencies, and overcome all erroneous ideas retarding the new upsurge of production.

Plans for a year must be made in the spring. The broad masses of rural cadres must be brave in picking heavy loads of work, make good use of the farming season, and together with the broad masses of people, actively and boldly plunge into production work. Let us hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, promote the revolutionary spirit of "self-reliance" and "hard work and plain living," and win the first battle of spring farming.

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Smash the Feudal Patriarchal Remnant Forces

by

Chiang Yen-hsin (江言新)

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Under the favorable situation marked by the development in depth of struggle-criticism-transformation in the countryside, we mobilize the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the commune members in general to use the invincible Mao Tsetung thought to launch revolutionary mass criticism, to thoroughly criticize the decadent feudal patriarchal ideology, to firmly strike at the small band of class enemies using the feudal patriarchal systems to carry out sabotage activities, along with all kinds of old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of the exploiting classes, thereby further consolidating the socialist position in the rural areas.

In the old China many of the villages used to have one surname each or one surname was shared by several villages. "The feudal patriarchal organization is quite commonplace," and the power of a clan was in the hands of the landlord class. They used the feudal patriarchal organization and feudal patriarchal ideas to impose their reactionary rule over the peasants. The victory of the democratic revolution in our country led to the overthrow of the landlord class and put an end to the rule of the feudal patriarchal forces. In particular, the great proletarian cultural revolution crushed the assault of the forces of capitalist restoration with the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i as the chief representative, and heavy blows were dealt at the feudal patriarchal remnant forces.

World-shaking changes have occurred in the countryside, which is now permeated with a new atmosphere of growing prosperity. However, it must be seen that feudal patriarchal ideas and feudal patriarchal forces were formed in the class society over several thousand years, and that those overthrown landlords, rich peasants and their representatives are still around, and they still aim at a comeback. As Chairman Mao teaches us: "Many years after the complete extinction of all the exploiting classes, representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty may still be active in various places." The class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and feudal landlord class in the political and ideological spheres is prolonged, acute and complex, and cannot be solved through several movements. This struggle goes on in a wave-like manner, falling and rising alternatively. It can be completely solved only after several decades or even several centuries.

A small handful of class enemies use the influence of the feudal patriarchal ideology of the past several thousand years to propagate vigorously the fallacy that "people sharing the same surname and in the same clan are members of one family." They use the feudal patriarchal

relations to cover up and obliterate the class relations, confuse the class fronts, and vainly attempt to make the poor and lower-middle peasants forget their past class sufferings, their hatred, the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship. They use the contradictions between clans involving such questions as land, forests, and water resources in an attempt to undermine the revolutionary unity of poor and lower-middle peasants, carry out counter-revolutionary activities, and sabotage the implementation of the great policy of "grasping revolution, promoting production, promoting work, and promoting war preparations."

Under cover of feudal patriarchal relations, they energetically engage in corruption, thieveries, manipulations and speculations in a futile bid to undermine the socialist collective economy. Using feudal patriarchal relations, they do their best to corrupt and woo rural basic-level cadres by means of "dragging them out" or "infiltration." They recruit agents from among basic-level leading groups in the rural areas and attempt to seize the rural basic-level leadership from us.

These phenomena show that the class enemies are using the feudal patriarchal remnant forces to mount an attack on the proletarian dictatorship in an attempt to restore capitalism.

All class struggles are political struggles. In our struggle against these remnant forces, we must not exclude it from "all class struggles." These remnant forces represent the interests of the decadent exploiting classes and the interests of the overthrown Kuomintang-Chiang Kai-shek dynasty. Lenin once stated: Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrown exploiting classes "still have extensive social ties." The feudal patriarchal remnant forces are a kind of "social ties" for them in the rural areas. The overthrown landlords and bourgeoisie pin their hopes for a comeback on such "social ties."

Through such "social ties," they attempt to woo and corrupt those of us who are in power, cause a breach in this respect, expand their forces, and further control our power or even seize it. Doesn't this give food for thought to those who think that "now that power is in our hands, the feudal patriarchal remnant forces cannot make any mischief"? The struggle against these remnant forces is, in essence, a struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes for leadership, and against capitalist restoration. We must look at this struggle in the context of consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship.

"Opposing feudal class is mainly to solve the problem of clan disputes." This is a specious view. Clan disputes must be solved, of course, for failure to solve them makes it impossible to promote the unity of poor and lower-middle peasants and jeopardizes "grasping of revolution and promotion of production." However, in solving clan disputes, we must not deal with them on their own merits, instead, we must look at the essence through the phenomenon.

Clan disputes are an indication of the existence of feudal patriarchal remnant forces, rooted among the small handful of class enemies. The main targets of the struggle against the feudal patriarchal remnant forces are the class enemies who use the feudal patriarchal relations to engage in sabotage activities. We must grasp the general orientation of this struggle.

Faced with the mighty dictatorship of the proletariat, the overthrown class enemies and the newly-emerging counter-revolutionaries often adopt more concealed forms to struggle against us. In the countryside, one of the important ways to do so is to use feudal patriarchal relations and the influence of feudal patriarchal ideology among the peasants to provoke clan disputes and carry out disruptive activities. Practice proves that where clan disputes are most acute, there a small handful of class enemies are inevitably making trouble. And clan disputes cannot be settled unless a small handful of class enemies are dragged out. In the course of struggle, it is necessary to strictly separate two types of contradictions, and to separate the small handful of class enemies who use the feudal patriarchal remnant forces to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat from the masses who are subject to the influence of the feudal patriarchal ideology.

The small handful of class enemies who use feudal patriarchal relations to engage in sabotage activities, whether they have been in existence or have newly emerged, all belong to the "detachments" of imperialism, revisionism and reaction in plotting to subvert our country's proletarian dictatorship. They form the social foundation of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes. Once an opportunity presents itself, they will come out and, echoing each other, stir up trouble and launch an attack against the proletarian dictatorship. This is the objective law of class struggle.

In clan disputes, these people call themselves "masses," saying that they "represent the interests of the masses." Actually, they are engaged in counter-revolutionary activities. We must be good at knowing them. In solving clan disputes, we must extensively mobilize the masses to make careful investigations, to expose those who use patriarchal relations as cover to carry out counter-revolutionary activities and provoke armed clan clashes which endanger the property and lives of the people, to deal crushing blows at them and firmly exercise proletarian dictatorship on them. This is dictated by the need to strengthen preparations for war and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"You cannot break with your kin, however hard you may try." This is a view used by the class enemies to hoodwink the masses. In the past they used this view to incite the masses to stir up clan disputes. Now, when we are attacking the feudal patriarchal remnant forces, they again use this view to resist and sabotage. We must see through the criminal plots of the class enemies, and must not fall into their trap.

Kinship has a class character. In class society, there is only class kinship, and no above-class kinship. In our socialist society, there can only be one criterion for kinship among the broad masses of revolutionary people, and that is whether it conforms to Mao Tsetung thought and the interests of the broad masses of the laboring people. Whoever does things according to Mao Tsetung thought is our kin. Whoever opposes Mao Tsetung thought is our enemy. The view that "you cannot break with your kin" obliterates the class distinctions and confuses the line of class boundary. There is basically no kinship between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie; there is only the question of who defeats whom and who destroys whom.

Some masses, influenced by the traditional concepts and the force of old habits of the exploiting classes over the past several thousand years and poisoned by Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle," have to a greater or lesser degree entertained the feudal patriarchal ideology. This is precisely the condition for the revival of the feudal patriarchal remnant forces. The class enemies constantly use the feudal patriarchal ideology which exists in people's minds to serve their restoration of capitalism. To firmly strike at the feudal patriarchal remnant forces, we must eliminate entirely the influence of feudal patriarchal ideas from people's minds. This is a very formidable task. When the broad masses greatly raise their class consciousness and their consciousness of the need to continue the revolution, feudal patriarchal ideas will have no market and the small handful of class enemies using feudal patriarchism to carry out sabotage activities will have no place to hide.

With revolutionary mass criticism paving the way and with the invincible Mao Tsetung thought as the sharpest weapon, we must thoroughly criticize the decadent feudal patriarchal ideology, criticize the reactionary "doctrines of Confucius and Mencius" and criticize the "theory of dying out of class struggle." We must wipe out all their poisons. We must, in accordance with Chairman Mao's teachings, constantly "propagate the superiority of the new system and criticize the retrogressiveness of the old system." We must continue to instill socialist ideas into the minds of the peasant masses. It is necessary to conduct class education, recall past sufferings and think of the present happiness so as to make the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants understand that there is only class kinship and no above-class "patriarchal kinship" in the world. It is necessary to introduce extensively education on socialism, patriotism, and internationalism, and to make the broad masses understand that all oppressed peoples in the world are members of one family, to make them take their mother country to heart, cast their eyes on the world, and give their all to the emancipation of the entire mankind.

At present, inspired by Chairman Mao's great call for "raising vigilance, defending the mother country" and "preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people," the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of commune members are closely united together, their fighting spirit and their socialist activism have soared to new heights. Under such a favorable situation, we "must not

forget class struggle," grasp the class struggle in the political, ideological and economic spheres, mobilize the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members with Mao Tsetung thought, make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in the countryside, further consolidate and develop the socialist position, and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Overcome the Erroneous Idea of "Party Member by Right"

by

Chang Wei-kung (張為公)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, February 28, 1970)

I am a printing worker with more than 20 years of work experience, who is requesting to join the Party. Since the work of consolidating and building the Party was started, I have felt particularly excited. Like most of the laboring people, I was oppressed and tortured in the old society, and it is only thanks to the Party and Chairman Mao that I could have such a happy life today. And the fact that I was tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution has only deepened my love for the Party and the great leader Chairman Mao.

For the past several years, together with my comrades and with deep proletarian sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao, I have been striving hard to study Chairman Mao's thought on Party building, criticize ruthlessly the sinister "six theories" by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, take an active part in "conferences and making comments," help the Party members, and educate and transform myself with the criterion of a communist.

Among us non-Party new cadres, the understanding of Party consolidation and building was not necessarily correct from the first. There were once blurred concepts, which were overcome gradually only in the course of continuous study and "struggling against self and criticizing "revisionism." One of the very important problems to be solved in this connection is the idea of "Party member by right."

Some comrades said to me: "Old Chang, you have such good conditions that you will certainly be admitted into the Party." What are the conditions? First, I was among those who rose relatively early against Liu Shao-ch'i's reactionary line during the great proletarian cultural revolution. After the "January revolution," I was able to follow closely Chairman Mao's great strategic plan. Second, I have a good origin; both my personal history and my social connections are good. As a result, some comrades thought that such conditions entitled one "to be a Party member," and all he had to do was to fill out the form and complete the procedures.

Hearing these remarks, I asked myself: should I be content with these bits of achievements, take myself as "a Party member by right," and wait for the Party to take me in, or should I actively plunge into the movement for Party consolidation and building, examine myself from the viewpoint of one dividing into two, make demands on myself on the basis of criteria of membership as stipulated in the new Party Constitution, and continue to make revolution and advance?

After studying, both my comrades and I recognized that the idea of "Party member by right" was extremely wrong and was a manifestation of lack of a correct understanding of the Party. Our great Party, founded by Chairman Mao personally, is a proletarian party set up on the basis of the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought--a Party composed of the proletarian advanced elements dedicated to communism, maintaining close ties with the masses, strictly abiding by Party discipline, and brave in making criticism and self-criticism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The Party organization should be composed of proletarian advanced elements; it should be a vanguard organization full of vigor, being capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in fighting the class enemies." To preserve the progressive and pure character of the Party, every comrade who requests to join the Party must make demands on himself on the basis of the "five requirements" of Party membership as stipulated in the new Party Constitution, and strive hard to create the conditions for joining the Party. If a non-Party comrade, whatever he calls himself--"a veteran rebel" or "one who has made contributions," thinks that he should be a "Party member by right," this will only show that he has a very insufficient understanding of the Party and hence does not meet the requirements of membership.

This idea of "Party member by right" gravely impedes us from continuing the revolution. The new Party Constitution clearly stipulates: "The basic program of the Chinese Communist Party is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, the substitution of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate goal of the Party is the realization of communism."

Every comrade who requests to join the Party should make up his mind to dedicate himself to the struggle for the realization of the basic program and the ultimate goal, continue the revolution, and carry on the revolution indefinitely. But the idea of "Party member by right" precisely runs contrary to the continuity of the revolution. One who has such a wrong idea will be content with the status quo, divorce himself from the revolution and regard joining the Party as the end of the revolution instead of taking it as the new point of departure for continuing the revolution. This is basically incompatible with the glorious title of a Party member.

Recently, in our plant, a new Party branch was set up in accordance with the provisions of the new Party Constitution. In the course of producing a new branch committee, in order to inject new blood, some comrades suggested that a seat be reserved for me, which I would take up after I had joined the Party. The trust of my comrades in me gave me great encouragement and drive, and I should all the more be modest and prudent and continue the revolution better. However, the practice of "reserving a seat" was inconsistent with the principle of the Party, and I could not accept this.

Together with the comrades I studied Chairman Mao's relevant teachings and the new Party Constitution, recognizing that Party consolidation and building posed a test to every non-Party new cadre. He should be able to work at the higher as well as the lower level, to be not only an "official" but also a common people, and should strive to bring his role as a proletarian vanguard fighter into full play, no matter at what post he works. We must oppose the idea of "Party member by right," and we must oppose even more strongly the idea of "committee member by right."

The comrades deeply felt that, tempered in three years of the great proletarian cultural revolution, many Party comrades had had higher consciousness of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines than we did. With the new Party branch providing leadership over the revolutionary committee and having a clearer orientation and greater fighting strength, we can also, under the education of the Party, work better for the Party and the people.

Following the deep development of the work of Party consolidation and building, among some of our non-Party new cadres, another blurred idea emerged: "Now that we have fulfilled our historical mission, we can go home to turn the handle of a plow;" "We had better rush back to 'Huako Mountain' by one jump like the Monkey King, and become ordinary people." Some even said: "In the early period of the movement we carried a load of a thousand catties. This was reduced to 500 when we had 'three-in-one' combination, and now we are free with the founding of the new Party committee."

Hitting the nail on the head, the broad revolutionary masses criticized this, saying that after the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must not forget, for the rest of our lives, "the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, giving prominence to politics, and holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought." However, these comrades have forgotten this to some extent, and the roots of their blurred idea must be quickly eradicated.

The basic problem of the revolution is that of political power. If we look at "power" from the standpoint of proletarian Party spirit, we see that power belongs to the whole class, that we hold power for the sake of the proletariat and the people, and that the Party is the core of political power, so that only when we have the Party can we have power and only when we strengthen the Party leadership can we consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is only when you truly understand that power is the power of a class that you can give prominence to Mao Tsetung thought and hold and use power well for the proletariat, that you can put in proper perspective your personal relationship to the Party, conscientiously accept the leadership of the Party, actively support and promote the work of consolidating and building the Party, and fight selflessly for the continued strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. If you take the bourgeois-individualist stand, you will look upon "power" as personal "power," put in the wrong place your personal relationship to the Party, and feel that you have "lost power" with the founding of the new Party

committee. This idea is very dangerous. In history, many had tumbled over this question, and we must not step into their shoes.

One's positive demand for joining the Party is a sign of progress, which is shown in the following manner: His only goal is to dedicate himself to the revolution and to give his all to the cause of the proletarian revolution. One who wants to join the Party because he wants to "retain his post" or "obtain promotion" will mistake the Communist Party for the Kuomintang. Chairman Mao teaches us: "We communists do not want to be government officials; we want to make revolution." If you have selfish and impure thoughts, regard Party membership as a "ladder" to climb upward, and acquire the idea of "rebelling"--"being a government official"--"joining the Party"--"retaining a government post," then you will basically follow the road that is distinct from that followed by our proletarian revolutionary fighters.

For a long time the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i had energetically tried to instill into the minds of the broad masses of Party members and revolutionary people the reactionary "theory that the purpose of joining the Party is to become an official," using the decadent bourgeois philosophy of life to poison the Party members and the masses. Extensive harm has been done. Up to the present time, such sugar-coated bullets are still being used against us.

The idea of "joining the Party to preserve one's power," apart from being attributed to one's own insufficient understanding of the Party, is in the final analysis the idea of "vying with the Party for power." It is precisely from this source the idea of "Party member by right" has sprung. All proletarian revolutionary fighters loyal to Chairman Mao must not let such individualist obstacle to hamper their continuing the revolution and must get rid of it!

As for returning to "Huako Mountain" and "turning the handle of the plow," that depends on how you view the matter. If you look at it as returning to one's original unit and to one's own class, going into the masses to turn the handle of the plow in participating in labor and fight shoulder to shoulder with the masses, that is exactly the feature of us working class, and a basic measure for insuring that the proletarian political power is forever rooted among the masses, a measure we must execute. If we look at one's return to "Huako Mountain" as dispensing with the spirit of daring to think, daring to speak, daring to do and daring to make revolution and the need to concern oneself with the important affairs of the State, that would be a big mistake.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We have won great victories. However, the defeated classes will still struggle. These people are still around, and this class is still around." How can we cease to carry out the socialist revolution?

The proletariat is the greatest class in human history, and its revolutionary character is most resolute and thorough. If we stop half way in the revolution, can we still look like a proletarian fighter? In the

strict sense, this is a betrayal of one's own revolutionary history, and of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We all are fighters who "fought" their way out under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. "Whether one is loyal or not is to be judged by one's action and by one's life." We must make ourselves staunch fighters loyal to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Party consolidation and building has made us more aware of the importance and urgency of "fighting against self-interest and criticizing revisionism" and reforming one's world outlook. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The working class must transform the whole society and itself in the midst of the class struggle and in the struggle against nature." I am determined, along with other non-Party new cadres and the broad masses, to make myself not only the motive force but also the target of the revolution, to make an effort to study Chairman Mao's great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, study the new Party Constitution seriously, strengthen the concept of the Party, and make exacting demands on and drive myself with the criteria of Party membership. I will overcome the idea of "Party member by right" and ideas of conceit and complacency and of stagnation, and strive to make myself a vanguard fighter for the proletarian revolution. Under the leadership of the Party and with the help of comrades, I will work hard, but not for personal fame or profit. I will dedicate myself to the struggle for the cause of the Party, to serving the people, and to the struggle for the realization of communism.

(The author of this article is a worker of the Printing Office of the Shanghai Textile Bureau.)

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A Group of Short Commentaries

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note:

A group of short commentaries has been selected and published in this issue with the object of promoting fruitful study and application of Mao Tsetung Thought in our work. We demand each short commentary use Mao Tsetung thought to make a concrete analysis of a specific problem in the present struggle. It should be short in length, specific in analysis, accurate, clear, and lively in language, and varied in form.

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The More Difficult the Place, the More Necessary It Is to Go

by

Ch'iang Ying (姜英)

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the great proletarian cultural revolution has won great victories. We have also obtained tremendous achievements in various fields of work. However, it must also be seen that the road ahead is by no means flat. When huge victories have been won, we must still see the various difficulties which may confront us. We must be prepared to overcome all kinds of difficulties and brave ourselves for new tests in continuing the socialist revolution.

Difficulties exist objectively. The question is what attitude we should take toward them.

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "What is work? Work is struggle. To those places with difficulties and problems, we must go to solve them. We work and struggle for solving difficulties. The more difficult the place, the more necessary it is to go. He who does so is a good comrade." To despise difficulties strategically but pay serious attention to them tactically, not to be afraid of difficulties but to face them, tackle them and overcome them--such is the hallmark of proletarian revolutionaries. It is the only correct attitude a Marxist can adopt toward difficulties. It is exactly in this way many, many revolutionary cadres and the revolutionary masses have overcome their difficulties and won one victory after another.

However, in practical life some comrades have not done this. Once they see difficulties, they become scared and run away from them. They do not dare to face them squarely.

As far as proletarian fighters are concerned, there are no difficulties that cannot be overcome. On the road of the Chinese revolution, we have met with countless difficulties. Yet, under Chairman Mao's capable leadership, we overcame them one by one. If you fear a difficulty, it would become a stumbling block. If you fought it, it would be subdued. However great the difficulties, provided you promoted the revolutionary spirit of fearing nothing, had the determination to overcome all difficulties, rely on the masses to fight them in all ways possible, and were undaunted by setbacks but struggled the hard way, you would certainly emerge victorious.

Some comrades would shake their heads the moment they saw a certain "troublesome problem," and keep saying: "There is nothing we can do." Why? An important reason is that they do not make any concrete analysis of the difficulties with Mao Tsetung thought. Our difficulties are essentially different from those of the reactionaries. Chairman Mao teaches us: "The difficulties of the reactionary forces cannot be overcome because they are the forces approaching extinction and have no future. Our difficulties are surmountable because we are the newly emerging forces with a bright future."

The difficulties which we unavoidably meet on the road of the revolution are of a dual nature: they in themselves contain factors favorable to their solution. The responsibility of a revolutionary is, through the struggle, to gradually accumulate such favorable factors, create conducive conditions, and turn unfavorable conditions into favorable ones. How can you find the means of overcoming the difficulties if you don't face the difficulties, find out the cause, and grasp the main contradictions? The means for solving them can only be found from the practice of struggle, from investigations and studies and from summing up of experiences. It would be an illusion to stay away from difficulties, sit down and wait for the victory to come to you.

Difficulties are bad things, but they can be turned into good things under certain conditions. They force us to struggle and arouse our revolutionary will and cause us to develop our talent. "When you are poor, you want to change, you want to work and to make revolution." That is true. In those difficult places the class struggle may be very acute and complicated or more serious natural disasters have struck. There is an urgent need for revolutionaries to go there to fight against the class enemies, against nature and natural disasters. That would provide the best training ground for revolutionaries. A revolutionary should self-consciously stand in the forefront of struggle against difficulties and become a brave fighter for the conquest of difficulties. The idea that because "the class struggle is complex there, you will tumble if you make a mess of things" or that one should not go there to meet the difficulties head-on is an idea of a hopeless coward. It is self-protective egoism of the exploiting classes. In the final analysis, he who has this idea has not properly transformed his bourgeois world outlook.

"Thoroughgoing materialists have nothing to fear." We should get rid of all ideas of cowards and lazybones, eliminate selfish and impure ideas, overcome the difficulties for the sake of the revolution, and perform new merits for the people.

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Do More Thinking for the Sake of the Revolution

by

Cheng Chih-hung (郑志虹)

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We should do more thinking when doing things."

Conscientiously using Mao Tsetung thought to analyze the various problems in our work and doing more thinking the hard way--this is an indispensable condition for the success of our work.

At present, under the guidance of the great strategic policy of "preparing against war and natural disasters and doing everything for the people," the mass movement for struggle-criticism-transformation is developing in depth. The task on our shoulder is heavy and the contradictions we face are complicated. If we do not set the machine in motion and do more thinking, we shall not be able to follow closely Chairman Mao's great strategic plan, correctly analyze and handle all kinds of contradictions, and master the objective law of the development of the movement.

Take the unfolding of revolutionary mass criticism for example. We have to use our head. A great deal of work has to be done to eliminate "Liu's poisons." The ideology of the exploiting classes changes in a variety of forms like the "White-bone demon." When "the slave mentality" was eliminated, there emerged "anarchism." When the "theory of going to school in order to become an official" was totally discredited, there emerged the "theory of the futility of going to school." When the "theory of labor as punishment" was punctured, there appeared the "theory of relaxation of labor." When the "theory of joining the Party in order to be an official" was refuted, the "theory of becoming an official in order to join the Party" appeared.

All of these new theories are aimed at poisoning the people and endangering the revolution. If we take them lightly and do not do more thinking about or make serious analysis of them, then we cannot grasp the new trends of the class struggle, nor can we gradually develop the revolutionary mass criticism.

Using one's head the hard way does not mean that one or a group of people should sink into meditation behind closed doors. It means that one must go among the masses and carry out meticulous investigations and research. However, after having gone among the masses, some comrades are more often than not content with what they see, what they hear and what they remember. They do not carefully analyze and study, with Mao Tsetung thought, the large quantity of material gathered from practical struggle in order to turn perceptual knowledge into rational knowledge and see the essence through the phenomenon. These comrades, as Chairman Mao has pointed out, "are good in that they are in contact with the masses. But they are not good at thinking, and they are reluctant to use their heads to do more thinking. The result is that they can accomplish nothing." When we go among the masses, we can truly sum up the experiences of the masses, realize a flying leap in our knowledge, and greatly push our work ahead only if we discard what is crude and take what

is fine, discard what is false and keep what is true, from the large amounts of things we saw or heard, and do more and deeper thinking.

When considering problems, we must have an overall concept. The lines, principles and policies laid down by Chairman Mao represent the whole of the revolution. When we think recklessly without taking the whole into consideration, we will sink into the quagmire of anarchism. We must oppose those lazybones who do not make an effort to comprehend the whole. Such people will take an extremely irresponsible attitude toward the whole. This is wrong.

"We cannot see with our eyes the wholeness of things. We can understand them only when we think about them. If we do not think about them, we cannot understand them." To understand the whole, it is necessary to really take the stand of the proletarian Party spirit, think about it again and again, and turn the process of thinking into a process of continuously deepening our understanding of the whole and a process of implementing Chairman Mao's great strategic plan in relation to the reality of our own unit. Only in this way can we closely combine the general with the particular, and the whole with the parts, so that we will continue to advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

Why is it that some comrades do not think hard in their work? The reason is their bourgeois "self." They are either afraid of hardships and seek comfort or are afraid of making mistakes and seek "insurance." As a consequence, they do not use their heads when confronted with problems. What they do is to pass directives of the higher to the lower level and the reports from below to the higher level.

It can be seen that these comrades still use their heads. If they do not use their heads for "public interest," they are bound to use their heads for bourgeois "self." If they let selfish and impure ideas impede their revolutionary creativity, they cannot do their work well. We should arm ourselves with the great Mao Tsetung thought, self-consciously transform our world outlook, and devote every ounce of our energy to the revolution until death.

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The Evil Practice of Arranged Marriages Must Be Swept Away

by

Chu Shao-hsing (朱韶奭)

The rushing torrents of the great proletarian cultural revolution are violently pounding the decadent ideologies of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and further washing away the old things that have existed in the minds of the peasant masses for several thousand years. However, the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes are not reconciled to withdrawing from the stage of history and are constantly using their reactionary influence in the ideological sphere to corrupt the masses with a view to attaining their goal of restoration.

Arranged marriages, long shattered by the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, have re-appeared in a small number of villages. This is a kind of counter-offensive launched by the class enemies against the great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. In these places, this evil practice must be swept away with vigor.

Arranged marriages are mainly created by those landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements who have not properly transformed themselves and by elements who engage in corruption, thieveries, manipulations and speculations. Under cover of preparing "weddings," they sabotage the socialist system and socialist economy.

They vainly attempt to use "money" to talk kinship with poor and lower-middle peasants and cadres. Through "ancestral worships" and "giving dinner parties to clansmen," they obliterate the class boundary line, asking people to call each other clansmen without distinguishing between enemies and ourselves and letting the poor and lower-middle peasants share a feast in one hall with landlord, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements and all ghosts and monsters with a view to paralyzing the will of the poor and lower-middle peasants to wage class struggle.

They use arranged marriages to undermine the socialist marriage system which provides for "freedom of marriage and equality of sexes." They use "marriage deposits" and "gifts" to deprive working women of political rights so as to turn them once more into merchandise under their control.

They call for holding of feasts and presentation of gifts, creating waste and extravagance and the bourgeois practice of gluttony. At the same time, they corrupt and induce poor and lower-middle peasants to make marriage a "profitable" business and neglect collective production.

They call for early marriage in order to corrupt the youngsters, so that inexperienced youngsters get infatuated with the small world of family life and lose the revolutionary will to fight for socialism and communism by "taking the mother country to heart and casting their eyes on the whole world."

Under cover of the evil mist of arranged marriages, the small handful of social scums and feudal remnants, long thrown into the dustbin of history, such as patriarchs, heads of clans, match-makers, fortune tellers and geomancy experts, have again crawled out from the underground ditches and stirred up trouble by vigorously carrying out feudal superstitious activities of "choosing a husband or wife" and "choosing a date for marriage." Some reactionaries even exchange counter-revolutionary experiences under the pretext of arranging a marriage or giving a wedding reception.

In short, the small handful of class enemies are dreaming of using the marriage question to undermine the proletarian dictatorship and restore capitalism in the countryside from the political, economic and ideological aspects. Our great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in his "Report on an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan": "Political authority, the clan authority, the religious authority and the authority of the husband represent the whole feudal patriarchal ideology and system, and are four big ropes binding the Chinese people, particularly the peasants."

In stirring up the evil wind of arranged marriage and propagating feudal rites and laws, the class enemies vainly attempt to create a breach in the marriage question so as to restore the rule of the exploiting classes. Hitting the nail on the head, the poor and lower-middle peasants said: "Arranged marriages are opium poisoning the poor and lower-middle peasants. They are rope binding the working women and are a knife that kills people in cold blood." They firmly demanded an end to arranged marriages and dealing heavy blows at the small handful of class enemies engaging in sabotage activities.

However, a small number of our cadres, influenced by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's "theory of dying out of class struggle," fail to see the acute class struggle on the marriage question. They do not give serious attention or sufficient support to the revolutionary demand of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants in putting an end to arranged marriages. Others, though they know arranged marriage is wrong, nevertheless think that it is a small matter and need not be viewed from the plane of class struggle. These views and acts are wrong and harmful.

In line with Chairman Mao's teaching that "we must never forget class struggle," we must give serious attention to the class struggle on the marriage question and view it from the plane of consolidating proletarian dictatorship and as an important aspect of the rural struggle-criticism-transformation campaign as well as an important aspect of the struggle against current counter-revolutionary activities, corruption and thieveries, manipulations and speculations, waste and extravagance. In the course of struggle, it is necessary to draw a correct distinction between two different types of contradictions, criticize and firmly strike at the sabotage activities of the small handful of class enemies, especially the chief culprits.

We must unfold revolutionary mass criticism against the reactionary marriage viewpoint of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, criticize and discredit it. Those among the people who are influenced by old ideas and old

habits must be given patient and meticulous ideological education with Mao Tsetung thought, helped to raise their consciousness and deal with the marriage problem correctly with proletarian ideology.

The broad masses of cadres should take good care of the young people, including educated youth who have gone to the mountainous areas or the countryside, showing concern for them politically and guiding them to struggle against the remnants of the feudalist and capitalist marriage systems. Revolutionary young people are the successors to the socialist and communist cause and they must fight for the consolidation of the socialist position in the countryside and for the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship. We must become brave revolutionary vanguards in the struggle against arranged marriages.

The broad masses of working women "are a force determining the success or failure of the revolution." They too must bring forth their revolutionary rebellious spirit and rid themselves of the bondage of all kinds of old ideas and old habits, rebel against the "four old things" and against arranged marriages, further promote women's ideological revolutionization in the course of struggle, and set up a strong line of defense against capitalist restoration.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If the rural bastions are not taken over by socialism, they will surely be taken over by capitalism." We must vigorously propagate communist ideas, promote the revolutionary customs of the proletariat, strongly defend the socialist marriage system, and sweep away the evil practice of arranged marriages created by the class enemies. We must not let the ideology of exploiting classes take control of our rural bastions.

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How Can a Teacher's Baton and Hand Substitute for Ideological Work?

- a big-character poster of Red little soldiers -

Kairov's reactionary idea that "without punishment, there would be no education"* has produced considerable influence on our teachers. Some teachers in our school would angrily strike the rostrum with their baton or hit the rostum with their hand in the classroom when the students were a little lax. We do not like this. We do not mean to say that the teachers should not make severe criticism of violations of discipline, which should indeed be criticized. But how can they angrily brandish their sticks or hit the rostrum with their hands? How can they treat us in this way? Such a state of affairs should not appear in our socialist schools.

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* Kairov: "On Consolidation of Conscious Discipline in Schools" (Report at an All-Russian National Education Conference, August, 1955): "It must be stated categorically: without punishment there would be no education."

We hope that teachers will do patient and meticulous ideological work on their students. Teachers should think of this: "How can their sticks or hands substitute for ideological work?" There is no substitute for ideological work! Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We can convince people by persuasion and not by force. If we resort to coercion, the result will be that people are subdued but not convinced." In fact, when you angrily brandish your stick or hit the rostrum with your hand, we do not obey you in our hearts. We would feel that you are incompetent and know nothing but knocking at the rostrum. Who doesn't know how to knock at the desk? But it is difficult to do ideological work, and one should learn to do patient political and ideological work!

We cadres of Red little soldiers are also learning to do ideological work. When the school closes, we call on some schoolmates for heart-to-heart talks and solve some problems with them. We feel that this is a good way of doing things, because it makes the solution of problems easy.

(Chang Min 章敏, member of the Revolutionary Committee of Jihhui New Village Primary School, Hsuhui district, Shanghai Municipality, delegate of Red little soldiers, and fourth-year class student)

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Practicing Strict Economy Is Itself a Revolution

- an investigation report by the Shenyang Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant

by
Investigation Group of Shenyang Municipal Revolutionary Committee

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Hung-ch'i Editor's Note: The experience of this plant in launching the "practice economy and increase production" movement is: to study over and over again Chairman Mao's directive and carry out in-depth revolutionary mass criticism so as to fully mobilize the masses politically and ideologically; to practice strict economy and integrate it with other tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation; to develop technical innovation to bring about a continuous development of comprehensive utilization.

In accordance with the great leader Chairman Mao's great teachings "Be prepared against war, be prepared against natural disasters, and do everything for the people" and "practice strict economy in an all-round and protracted way," and aided by the PLA support-left personnel stationed in the plant, the revolutionary committee of the Shenyang Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant, bearing in mind the world revolution, has vigorously grasped the class struggle and revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation in the economic field and persistently carried out in depth a mass movement to increase production and practice economy, advancing the rapid and all-round development of production.

This plant last year saved more than 9,000 tons of coal, over 1,400 tons of rolled steel, and 1,900 cubic meters of lumber for the state. It fulfilled the state plan for practicing economy and succeeded in 45 areas of repairing the old and utilizing waste. The total value of these savings was 2.24 million yuan. In addition, a check of the inventory turned up some 11,000 pieces of material valued at 2.02 million yuan. The 1969 state plan was overfulfilled ahead of schedule insofar as the production quantities of its major products were concerned. Compared with the highest historical records, the total value of its production increased by 23 percent, its production costs decreased by 22 percent, and the amount of profit turned over to the state increased by eight percent.

Vigorously Grasp the Mobilization of Thinking and Uphold the Concept of Practicing Strict Economy for the Sake of Revolution

After its establishment, the revolutionary committee of this plant, inspired by Chairman Mao's series of latest instructions, vigorously grasped

revolution and energetically promoted production, with the amazing result that struggle-criticism-transformation was carried out in depth and the production plan completed month by month. However, some leading comrades made efforts to increase production but overlooked practicing economy. As a result, a phenomenon of relatively serious waste prevailed. Over a certain period the plant operated at a loss. Some comrades thought that this was not worth worrying about, saying: "This is an enterprises under the central authorities. We can ask for everything required to make a leap forward, and we should not worry about wasting a little in order to increase production." This sort of erroneous concept which set the task of increasing production opposite to practicing economy brought about complaints from the workers. They criticized: "In this locomotive and rolling stock plant, you can find steel materials and spare parts thrown away here and there. However, we, the working class, will not lose the industrious and thrifty tradition."

The criticism made by the worker masses drew close attention of the PLA support-left personnel who immediately ran a Mao Tsetung thought study class together with the members of the revolutionary committee. They repeatedly studied Chairman Mao's great teaching: "Save every cent for the war and the revolutionary cause, and for our economic construction" and ruthlessly criticized the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line in running enterprises. They realized that it is imperative to practice economy in order to increase production, and that to practice strict economy is a requisite to rapid progress in socialist construction, consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship, support of the world revolution, and strengthening preparedness against war with a view to smashing the aggressive scheme of imperialism, revisionism, and all reaction. They said: "If we depend on others to make a leap forward and forget to practice economy in increasing production, we will forget the whole situation of the world revolution and lose the true quality of the working class. We should act as a red housekeeper for the working class, not as a 'rich master' of the bourgeois family."

With heightened understanding, the revolutionary committee strengthened its leadership in practicing economy. In view of the specific nature of the plant's production work, which is mainly the maintenance of locomotives and rolling stock, it decided to immediately launch a comprehensive utilization movement to increase production and practice economy throughout the plant, centering on "economy in six respects" (namely, economy in coal, water, electricity, steel, lumber, and oil) and aiming at doing "three good jobs" namely, make accurate examinations, careful disassembly of cars so as to avoid damage of parts, and repairing the old and utilizing waste).

In order to mobilize the masses, the revolutionary committee members went deep into the workshops, work shifts, and work teams to carry out investigation and study, cultivate typical cases, and sum up experiences. A plantwide exhibition on increasing production and practicing economy was held on three occasions whereby Chairman Mao's brilliant concept of "hard struggle" and "building the country through hard work and thrift" was warmly propagated through the creations made by the masses and the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in attacking socialism in the economic field

were exposed, criticized, and repudiated with solid facts. The masses expressed: "To practice economy is not only for the purpose of saving money but, more importantly, for the sake of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship." "Industry and thrift is a tradition of the working class. Without it, we cannot successfully maintain political power. As long as we preserve it, our country will remain consolidated through all eternity."

The higher the level of the workers' understanding, the more consciously they act. Under the guidance of the members of the revolutionary committees at all levels, the worker masses regarded every screw, every inch of rolled steel, and every spare part as a bullet in attacking imperialism, revisionism, and reaction and as their contribution to the world revolution. This brought about a high tide in the mass movement to "inventory warehouses, make use of waste materials through appropriate processing and modification, seek substitutes in the interest of economy, and repair the old and utilize waste." In the light of actual requirements, more than one-half of the workshops set up special groups in charge of repairing the old and utilizing waste.

The workers in material utilization and freight car disassembly workshops repaired and modified 45 spare parts which had been "sentenced to death" by capitalist-roaders and utilized them in production. The value of material obtained through repairing the old and utilizing waste amounted to more than 100,000 yuan per month. The workers of the spare parts workshop persisted in making spare parts with scrap materials, saving some 20 tons of rolled steel for the state each month. The workers of the tools workshop discovered a lot of old tool holders weighing 50 to 60 tons. This was adequate to meet the requirements for tool holders for three years. The workers of the wood workshop created the new technique of joining and patching waste lumber and, therefore, utilized 1,300 cubic meters of waste lumber per month. This saved the state a great deal of lumber.

The practice in this plant has indicated that to practice strict economy is an ideological revolution. It is, therefore, necessary to wipe out the various erroneous ideas encountered in the economy movement so as to practice economy for revolution in the interest of the whole situation. In so doing, we will have a clear-cut orientation, work with energy and resourcefulness, and achieve good results.

Combine Practicing Strict Economy with Struggle-Criticism-Transformation

To carry out activities designed to increase production and practice economy it is necessary to vigorously grasp the class struggle in the economic field and to combine practicing strict economy closely with the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation.

After the movement of increasing production and practicing economy was started in this plant, the PLA support-left personnel discovered that a

few leading comrades took practicing economy as an economic question and, therefore, set it opposite to struggle-criticism-transformation. This affected the development of the movement of increasing production and practicing economy. Some of them said: "To practice economy is an economic task involving no politics." Others said: "We are so busy with struggle-criticism-transformation that we have no time to practice economy." In view of these living ideas, the PLA representatives and the revolutionary committee promptly organized the broad masses of workers to study Chairman Mao's works relative to the relations between revolution and production, examine themselves as to their attitude in handing the relations of economy with politics and the work of practicing economy with that of struggle-criticism-transformation, and expose the crimes of capitalist-roaders in wasting the state property and undermining the socialist economy. Efforts were also made to check their concept of class struggle in the economic field, analyze the development of the revolutionary situation, and examine their awareness of practicing strict economy for the sake of world revolution. It was profoundly realized by them that there is politics in economy and class struggle in practicing economy. Waste is a means with which the class enemy launches attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

They also realized that perseverance in practicing economy means a further criticism and repudiation of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line on running enterprises and is a struggle to defeat the attacks launched by the class enemy against the proletariat in the economic field; it is a revolution to resist the attack of sugar-bullets fired by the bourgeoisie, to persist in the socialist orientation, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, and to insure that the leading power in enterprises is firmly held in the hands of the proletariat. This, as they pointed out, is the important content of struggle-criticism-transformation, and to firmly grasp the class struggle in the economic field as the key link and conscientiously make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation is the basic guarantee for success in practicing economy.

After the masses' understanding was heightened, the plant revolutionary committee then mobilized the masses to combine the work of practicing economy closely with the various tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation, such as the development of revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, the purification of class ranks and the changing of unreasonable rules and regulations. This insured the development of the mass movement of increasing production and practicing economy in a vigorous and down-to-earth way.

In the movement of increasing production and practicing economy, the workers of the tools workshop in this plant vigorously grasped revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation. Through taking inventory, discovering potentialities, and conducting investigation and study, they changed the unreasonable rules and regulations and instituted a "requisitions and sales as one" system in the interest of increasing production and practicing economy. Bearing in mind the world revolution, the workers of this workshop proposed a change in the direction of production from "manufacturing new tools as the main task" to "repairing old tools as the main task and combining repair with manufacture." Thus, they saved a

considerable amount of state funds used in the manufacture of tools and, at the same time, gained good experience in holding criticism and repudiation meetings on the spot.

The crane workshop is an experimental unit for struggle-criticism-transformation. Despite their heavy workload, the workers of this workshop combined practicing economy with struggle-criticism-transformation and, using revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation as a path-breaker, abolished the unreasonable rules and regulations and, instead, instituted sound, reasonable systems for material control, practicing economy and utilizing waste, as well as quality control. In addition, they set up a "three-in-one" control network consisting of revolutionary workers, technicians, and cadres in order to reasonably define the scope of work of dismantling, repairing, and replacing. This raised the rate of utilization from the original 40 percent to 80 percent.

Consolidate the Fruitful Results; Continuously Make Revolution

With the achievements made and experiences gained in increasing production and practicing economy, some comrades gradually had the idea that "they had practiced economy to the fullest extent." Some of them said: "We conduct warehouse inventories every year and practice economy every month. Therefore, there is no more waste material to be utilized." This idea became a resistance to the development of the movement of increasing production and practicing economy under the new circumstances. The plant revolutionary committee led the broad masses to conscientiously study Chairman Mao's great teaching "We must further practice economy in making revolution" and sum up the experience gained in the coal conservation campaign previously carried out in the plant. This gave a profound inspiration and education to the masses.

In the past, the worker masses of this plant succeeded in modifying an old-type boiler, bringing its heat efficiency from the original 56 percent up to 90 percent with an annual saving of over 3,000 tons of coal. At that time somebody said: "The modification of the boiler is like changing a slow ox into a quick horse. We have done all that can be done to conserve coal." The worker masses criticized this conservative idea which believed that "coal had been conserved to the fullest extent." In compliance with Chairman Mao's teaching: "Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating, and advancing," they made investigation and study and found that the heat which was lost every day with the waste steam in connection with the operation of the 10 steam hammers in the forge and metallurgy workshop was equivalent to the heat energy of 30 tons of coal. They immediately started working on comprehensive utilization and completed the projects of "recovery of waste steam" and "preheating of cold water," which increased the rate of utilization of lost heat to 90 percent and met the indoor-heating requirement of the buildings in the north section of the plant.

Not satisfied with these achievements, they studied the experiences of fraternal units many times and carried out the "reuse of coal dregs from furnaces." This further pushed forward the practice of economizing on coal. Last year, they also used "coal dreg bricks" to build a storage warehouse.

After summing up and analyzing this typical example, the revolutionary committee carried out ideological mobilization work a step further and vigorously opposed arrogance and complacency. The broad revolutionary masses fully understood that there is no limit to revolution, understanding, and practicing economy. With a new high level in ideological revolution, it follows that there is a new level of standard in practicing economy.

The revolutionary workers, technicians, and cadres of the transportation workshop organized a "three-in-one" group, and, after overcoming various difficulties, and after more than 20 experiments, successfully carried out technical innovations on a 1930 model steam locomotive which is still in use, achieving the result of not needing to use coal in a steam locomotive, substituting oil (waste oil or heavy diesel oil) for coal. This has not only saved the state huge quantities of superior grade coal and decreased the operational cost of locomotives by 35 percent, but also blazed a new path in technical renovation of steam locomotives in China.

The workers of the forge and metallurgy workshop went a step further to utilize excess heat from a heating boiler by forging and casting a heating boiler which uses oil instead of coal for fuel, thus achieving the result of steam hammers providing their own steam.

The mass movement of increasing production and practicing economy gave a strong stimulus to production. Since the beginning of the year, there has been a marked increase in the number of its own parts provided by this factory. Beginning in January with its best foot forward, the factory completed all of the state production plans ahead of schedule. A vivid and vigorous situation of incessantly practicing economy and increasing production has appeared throughout the entire factory.

Vigorously Grasp the Three Links

In leading the launching of the movement to increase production and practice economy, the revolutionary committee of the Shenyang Locomotive and Rolling Stock Plant also paid attention to grasping vigorously the three links:

1) Persisting in the leadership taking the lead and the typical units in showing the way.

The chairman of the revolutionary committee and concurrently the military representative personally handled the task of practicing economy, and a vice chairman was also assigned this responsibility, placing the movement to increase production and practice economy on the work agenda of the revolutionary committee. This not only strengthened leadership but also placed the movement on a solid footing organizationally.

The members of revolutionary committees at all levels were leaders in practicing economy, leading in study, in propagation, in action, and in summing up. The members of the plant revolutionary committee went down to stay at basic levels, conscientiously summing up the experiences of such typical units as the tools workshop and of individuals, holding on-the-spot meetings and lecturing so that the worker masses in each workshop would have an orientation in their studies and zeal in their efforts, thus vigorously promoting the development of the movement to increase production and practice economy.

2) Fully mobilize the masses and rely on them.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Mass movements must be carried out in all work, it is impossible to do without them". During the past year in which this plant launched the movement to increase production and practice economy, every level was mobilized and each one carried out mass movements, whether it was the massive creation of public opinion or the vigorous grasping of typical examples.

Working on the basis of mobilizing the masses, the worker masses of each workshop selected their own personnel to be in charge of practicing economy and took the initiative to organize an advisory staff on economizing composed of veteran workers. A new atmosphere of "industriousness and frugality are an honor, and extravagance and waste are ignoble" has emerged throughout the plant. It has achieved the result of everyone working to practice economy and everyone working to control waste.

3) Technical innovations are vigorously carried out and comprehensive utilization is energetically practiced.

The plant's revolutionary committee regarded technical innovation and comprehensive utilization as an important course toward increasing production and practicing economy. To launch an offensive is regarded as taking the initiative. The worker masses persisted in creatively studying and applying Mao Tsetung thought, adhering to the principle of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts". They vigorously smashed "the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace" and "comprador slave philosophy" to complete more than 300 items of technical innovations and comprehensive utilization this year which powerfully pushed forward the movement in the entire plant to increase production and practice economy.

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Develop Revolutionary Mass Criticism Successfully by Beginning with Investigation and Studies

- Report on an investigation of Chengchia Commune, Hsun-i Hsien, Shensi

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Under the new situation marked by the deep development of the struggle-criticism-transformation movement, what are the new trends and new features of the rural class struggle? How can we continue to develop revolutionary mass criticism appropriately, penetratingly and meticulously? The Revolutionary Committee of Chengchia Commune, following our great leader Chairman Mao's teaching that "he who makes no investigation has no right to speak," has gone deep into reality and carried out investigations and studies. Facts about the class struggle enable them to understand that the class enemies are now trying to undermine socialism in the economic sphere in a vain attempt to shake the economic foundation of proletarian dictatorship. To this end, they use the bourgeois ideas of some well-to-do peasants and the remnants of old systems and old ideas to incite the spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism and mount an attack against the proletariat.

On the basis of investigation and studies, the Committee leads the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in general to further the revolutionary mass criticism, fiercely criticize the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, criticize the capitalist tendencies, firmly strike at the sabotage activities of the class enemies, and further the consolidation of the rural socialist bastions. An excellent situation has appeared in the entire Commune.

Make the Direction Clear, Continue the Revolution and Turn the Leading Group into a Staunch Combat Headquarters

In the mass movement for criticizing capitalist tendencies, we must first of all grasp the cadres.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "After the political line has been determined, cadres become the decisive factor." In fighting capitalist tendencies, it is necessary, on the one hand, to deal crushing blows at the sabotage activities of a small handful of class enemies in the rural areas; on the other hand, it is essential, in accordance with Chairman Mao's great teaching "a serious question is the education of the peasants," to continue to instill into the peasants socialist ideas and continue to resist and criticize capitalist tendencies.

Who are going to do this task? The leading group. The results of the investigation and research show that where the leading group takes the lead in following the socialist road and in resisting capitalist tendencies, there the socialist position is solid; otherwise, capitalist tendencies are rampant. Therefore, to grasp with vigor the ideological build-up of the

leading group and turn it into a strong combat headquarters for leading the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to launch an offensive against the capitalist forces, is a crucial factor for sustaining this political struggle.

However, some cadres entertain the notion that "now that power is in our hands, the revolution has come to an end." They fail to see clearly the new trends and new characteristics of the class struggle. Certain cadres guilty of mistakes are rather hesitant toward the class struggle in the economic field for fear of being implicated and they dare not mobilize the masses. In view of this situation, the commune Revolutionary Committee runs all kinds of Mao Tsetung thought study classes, organizes the cadres to make a serious study of Chairman Mao's great theories concerning classes, class struggle, and the continuation of revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It exposes the manifestations of the capitalist tendencies in the rural areas and heighten its understanding of the new trends and new characteristics of the current class struggle.

At the same time, in conjunction with the consolidation of the Party, it has penetratingly unfolded the "three-recollection and three-checking" activities: recollecting the hardships caused by exploitation in the old society and checking the level of proletarian consciousness; recollecting the crimes of Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and checking one's feeling about our great leader Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line; and recollecting the danger posed by bourgeois self-interest and checking the level of one's consciousness of the need to fight self and criticize revisionism.

As a result of the study and the "three-recollection and three-checking" activities, everyone knows fully that he who forgets classes and exploitation forgets his own origin. He who has no class viewpoint cannot see the situation clearly and cannot tell what is right from what is wrong. Everyone says: We cannot depart from class struggle, we cannot forget proletarian dictatorship, we cannot drop the weapon of revolutionary mass criticism, and we cannot halt our march in continuing the revolution.

The broad masses of cadres actively fight self and criticize revisionism and lead the way in criticizing capitalist tendencies and safeguarding the socialist collective economy. Wang Ch'ung-p'in, leader of production team No. 1 of Nanchang brigade once was cheated by the enemy because he had a weak conception of class struggle. At a large meeting for recollection of hardships and discussion of happiness, he poignantly recalled his own miserable family life. Before the liberation, when he was four years old, he followed his parents in farming, and his four elder brothers worked on a coal mine. They were ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by landlords and capitalists. Insufficiently clad and inadequately fed all year round, they worked with bare feet even in the cold winter months.

He said: "Gangster Liu's 'theory of dying out of class struggle' caused me to forget my sufferings as an exploited, my class hatred, the revolution, and political power. I was wooed by bad people, and I went

backward. I really had let down our great leader Chairman Mao." He expressed his firm determination to follow Chairman Mao closely and make revolution firmly. Since then, in struggle, he has fought bravely and led the poor and lower-middle peasants of the whole team to open violent fire on capitalist tendencies. The poor and lower-middle peasants said happily: With the cadres leading the way in continuing the revolution, we are sure to take the socialist road forever.

Grasp the Vital Points, Criticize "Liu's Poisons," and Build a Long Wall of Iron and Steel in the Thinking of the Masses Against Capitalism

In criticizing capitalist tendencies, what should mainly be criticized? The Revolutionary Committee of Chengchia Commune mobilized the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants and commune members in general to expose and investigate various manifestations of capitalist tendencies in the commune. It was found that the class enemies, by spreading the preposterous view that "while depending on the collective for grain, you must depend on yourselves for cash," incited the commune members to take up sideline occupations individually. This was the most common and primary manifestation of capitalist tendencies in this commune. Among a section of the masses, blinded by "self" and "in their search for comfort and for the ready-made," some failed to see the tricks of the enemies, and others were even poisoned or fell into the trap.

In view of this, the commune Revolutionary Committee, in line with Chairman Mao's great teaching that "we should take the experiences of the local peasants and carefully analyze them before the peasants," set up Mao Tsetung thought study classes in various brigades, grasped the important problems, and in the light of the actual situation of the commune and beginning with making reckonings and comparisons, mobilized the masses to criticize "Liu's poison" unrelentingly. Together with the poor and lower-middle peasants of Chengchia brigade, it made a comparison between the No. 8 production team which had all along persevered in the socialist orientation and the No. 3 production team which had for one time taken up sideline occupations individually under incitement by the enemies.

These two teams were similar in scale. The No. 8 team was located in a gully, with bad production conditions. The No. 3 team was located in a flat land, and so its production conditions were good. However, in terms of average labor productivity, the No. 8 team's income from production was 90 percent higher than that of No. 3 team; it contributed 38 percent more to the state fund than the No. 3 team did. Its collective accumulations were 4.6 times more than those of No. 3 team; and the earnings of its members were 70 percent higher.

Why this disparity? The commune Revolutionary Committee guided the masses to find out the reasons on the question of what road to take. The No. 8 team, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, developed successfully the mass movement for creative study and application of Mao Tsetung thought. It grasped well the lever of class struggle and the struggle

between the two roads. It persevered in the socialist orientation and resisted and criticized in time and effectively the capitalist tendencies.

What about the No. 3 team? A number of people, instigated by a landlord element, engaged in sideline occupations individually and on a large scale, and certain cadres were also corrupted and wooed by the enemy. As a result, the collective economy was gravely undermined.

Such reckoning and comparison sharpened the eyes of the commune members. They said: "The socialist road is a bright road; the more we follow it, the brighter it becomes. The capitalist road is a blind alley; the more we follow, the darker it is."

In accordance with Chairman Mao's teaching concerning the "grasping of class struggle," the commune Revolutionary Committee went further in mobilizing the masses to check the enemy activity and dig up its origin. A mass of facts of class struggle shows that where the view that "while depending on the collective for grain, you must depend on yourselves for cash" was more extensively spread and the sideline occupations were more extensively undertaken on an individual basis, a small handful of class enemies were invariably making trouble behind the scenes. Because of this, a mass struggle against the enemy was initiated in the entire commune, attracting people's attention to "Liu's poisons" and the reality of class struggle. The living reality of class struggle raised the socialist consciousness of the commune members, making everyone of them understand that the view referred to above is a capitalist bait and a reprint of the "theory of merging of public and private interests." Its aim is to make us depart from the socialist road and embark on the capitalist road. The result would be that while letting yourself down, you also did harm to the collective, the State, and the poor and lower-middle peasants. The poor and lower-middle peasants said: "The class enemies are trying to undermine the foundation of socialism. We cannot sit back and relax, still less can we follow them."

With the important problems grasped and "Liu's poisons" criticized, the broad masses of commune members were enabled to correctly handle the three-way relationship among the State, the collective and the individual as well as the relationship between the long-range interests and the short-term interests. They have set up the idea of farming for the sake of the revolution. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants draw a clear distinction between the public and private interests even with regard to a catty of grain, a penny or a small matter.

Once, more than 10 members of the Chiats'unsan team were transporting coal when they made use of the free moments between work to help the workers of the mine in clearing the coal ground. For this, they were paid 15 yuan. At the time, some of them suggested that this reward be divided up among them. But the rest pointed out promptly: "We poor and lower-middle peasants must think of the revolution. Even a penny or a brick must be given to the collective to increase the strength of the foundation of socialism." The revolution promoted the development of collective production. In 1969, the commune supplied the State with over four times more grain than it did in 1968, while its collective grain reserves grew by more than six times.

Sum Up Experience, Master the Law, and Take the Initiative to Attack Capitalist Forces

How can we seize the initiative in our struggle against the capitalist tendencies? The Revolutionary Committee of Chengchia Commune, following Chairman Mao's great teaching that "historical experience merits attention," has fully mobilized the masses to seriously recall and sum up the history of the struggle between the two roads in the commune and to carry out deep investigations and studies. They analyzed carefully the experiences and lessons of the mat making workshop of Nanchang brigade which had "four ups and three downs." From these, they found the law governing the activity of capitalist tendencies and thus mastered the initiative of this struggle.

In 1956, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Nanchang brigade, on the basis of agricultural cooperativization, set up a collective mat making workshop. But a year later, in the adverse current of the frantic attack of the bourgeois rightists against the Party and socialism, a landlord element and a bogus pao chief who had wormed his way into the leading group of the mat making workshop collaborated with each other. Using the method of "pulling the firewood from under the kettle," they promoted material incentives on a large scale and divided up the working capital. This forced the mats workshop to close.

In 1958, the poor and lower-middle peasants, under the illumination of the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, restored the mat making workshop and ran it for three years until it was closed once more in the midst of the evil wind of individual farming stirred up by Liu Shao-ch'i. In 1965, as a result of the socialist education movement, the mat making workshop was re-opened, and under the impact of the great proletarian cultural revolution, was run with increasingly good results for last four years, giving support to the construction of the State and helping to expand the collective economy and increase the income of the commune members. In the second half of 1968, it found itself involved in the reactionary ideas of anarchism. A bad man took the opportunity to do evil, corrupting cadres and persuading some people to go out to take up private sideline jobs. The cash earmarked by the collective for the blanket purchase of 6,000 catties of reeds was divided up privately. The result was that the workshop had to be closed for the third time.

The shocking facts of the class struggle in this brigade indicate that a small handful of class enemies are constantly searching for an opportunity to incite individual operations and mount an attack on the proletariat. In doing this, they choose what they regard as weak spots to make use of the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of a section of well-to-do peasants and the vestiges of private concept of petty producers as well as the weakness of some cadres who are engrossed in business and do not concern themselves with politics.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "If we slightly relax political work on the peasants in the course of the cooperatization movement and, after this, for a very long period of time to come, capitalist tendencies will spread

unchecked." The objective law of class struggle educated the large numbers of cadres and the masses. They fully understand that they can consolidate the rural socialist position only when they unfold the revolutionary mass criticism in a penetrating and sustained manner and take the initiative to attack the class enemies.

In the course of the struggle against capitalist tendencies, the mat making workshop of No. 1 production team of Nanchang production brigade was re-opened for the fourth time. The bad fellow who had wrecked the workshop before again tried to make trouble behind the scenes. He went out to get control of the reeds pools in a vain attempt to continue to promote individual operations, and he also spread the rumor, saying: "The mat making workshop has not proved its worth. It will certainly fail this time."

Instigated by this bad fellow, some commune members began to have selfish ideas again. The result was that the quality of the mats woven was rather bad. Thereupon, the brigade revolutionary committee organized the masses to launch an attack on this bad fellow. They re-studied Chairman Mao's great teaching that "if the rural positions are not taken over by socialism, they will certainly be taken over by capitalism." And they were determined to run the mats workshop in a better way. The commune Revolutionary Committee convened an on-the-spot conference at Nanchang brigade to popularize the brigade's experience in mastering the law and taking the initiative to attack the capitalist tendencies. A new situation appeared, marked by the taking of initiative to criticize capitalist tendencies throughout the commune.

Pay Attention to Policy, Draw a Clear Line of Demarcation, and Insure the Development of Revolutionary Mass Criticism in Breadth and Depth

How can we insure that the mass movement for the criticism of capitalist tendencies will continue to develop in breadth and depth in a correct direction? "Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The Revolutionary Committee of Chengchia Commune takes the view that only if we act in accordance with the Party's policies, distinguish between the right and the wrong and between socialism and capitalism, and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions, namely, the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and those among the people, can we remove the interference from the Right and from the "Left" and insure the victorious and forward development of the mass movement for the criticism of capitalist tendencies.

In correcting the capitalist tendencies for sideline production, the commune Revolutionary Committee, in line with the policy of "taking grain as the key to overall development" and related economic policies of the Party for the rural areas, guided the masses to draw the following two lines of demarcation:

The line of demarcation between commune members' sideline productions and capitalist tendencies. Commune members are told that they can only undertake family sideline productions within the scope provided for by the

policy in their spare time and holidays if they actively operate the collective economy and insure the absolute superiority of the collective economy. Those erroneous ideas of giving up farming in favor of sideline production and chasing after profits are criticized.

The line of demarcation between the legitimate trade fairs and speculative activities. It is necessary to fulfill the State requisitioning and purchasing tasks according to the quality and quantity prescribed and to absolutely obey the regulations of the State concerning market management. It is necessary to criticize those practices of ignoring the needs of the State, breaking the regulations, and freely buying and selling those farm and subsidiary products which should not be sold in the market. Surplus farm and subsidiary products produced by the peasants in accordance with State regulations may be exchanged in the fairs under State control. Manipulations and speculations must be firmly opposed. Except for State-run commercial agencies, cooperative commercial agencies and merchants and pedlers with permits, no unit or individual is allowed to engage in commercial activities.

After the collective subsidiary production is organized, it is necessary to stand fast to the socialist orientation, take agriculture as the main job, and support agriculture with subsidiary production. It is essential to support the construction of the State, serve industrial and agricultural production, and serve the livelihood of commune members. It is imperative to criticize those ideas of capitalist management which ignore the general interests and encourage pursuits of only profits. It is essential that subsidiary production is undertaken in such a way as not to affect the farming season and not to engage in a competition with agricultural production for labor power, time and capital. The erroneous tendency of giving serious attention to subsidiary production to the neglect of agriculture must be criticized. It is necessary to have foresight, undertake capital construction, gradually build raw material bases, and change the practices of "fighting a guerrilla war," "taking what is ready-made" and considering only the immediate interests.

As a result of serious implementation of policies and the drawing of clear lines of demarcations, the Chengchia Commune has stopped the foul wind of capitalist tendencies and promoted the rapid development of agricultural and subsidiary production. Subsidiary occupations in the commune are being gradually collectivized. A carpenters' group, a mat making workshop, and a short-distance transportation team have been set up one after the other and are continuously consolidated and developed. Lichia brigade, which has conscientiously implemented the policy of overall development of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, subsidiary production and fishery, has opened up more than 70 mow of mulberry plantations and more than 20 mow of apple trees. It has planted more than 170 mow of timber forests and more than doubled the number of its pigs.

At present, the mass movement for the criticism of capitalist tendencies in Chengchia Commune is continuing to develop in breadth and depth. An atmosphere has been created of defending socialism and taking

the socialist path. The mass movement for promoting socialist ideas and criticizing capitalist tendencies has propelled the consolidation and building of the Party and accelerated the tempo of struggle-criticism-transformation, with the result that some units faced with old, big and difficult problems are rapidly changing their outlook. Agricultural and subsidiary production are being developed with vigor. Under such a favorable situation, the Revolutionary Committee of the Commune is determined to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tsetung thought, pay close attention to the new trends of class struggle, continue to develop the revolutionary mass criticism, strive to fulfill the various combat tasks put forward by the 9th Party Congress, and continue to seize new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

(The Investigation Team of Shensi
Provincial Revolutionary Committee)

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A Tremendous Change in Five Years

- Investigation report of Kuochuang brigade, Hsiao hsien, Anhwei

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, February 28, 1970)

On the plains of Huaipei there is an advanced collective where a tremendous change has marked its agricultural production under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought. This collective is the Kuochuang brigade, Hsiao hsien, Anhwei province.

The brigade, following the great leader Chairman Mao's teaching "for agriculture, learn from Tachai" and firmly adhering to the policy "relying on oneself" and "waging a bitter struggle," has wrangled with heaven and earth as well as class enemies and brought about a tremendous change in a short span of five years. Mao Tsetung thought has deeply entered people's minds, their spiritual feature has undergone a change and a big leap has been achieved in agricultural production.

In 1968, the brigade, erstwhile known for its poverty, infertile land and constant visits of natural calamities and low yield, showed a record-breaking per mow output of cotton and grain, which surpassed the target stipulated in the "National Program for Agricultural Development."

In 1969, the brigade's cotton and grain output showed a continued great increase. Compared with the peak year 1964 before the great proletarian cultural revolution, grain output went from 126 to 630 catties per mow and cotton from 31 to 120 catties per mow. Since 1966, the brigade has achieved self-sufficiency with surplus grain and completely changed the situation where it has for long periods had to depend on the State for relief. Moreover, it has for several years in succession supplied huge quantities of marketable grain and cotton to the State. At the same time, as collective economy grows, it has increased its collective savings and purchased a number of farming machines, including a tractor. Now, a picture of steady progress has presented itself in its revolution and production.

Firmly Following the Road of Socialism

However, the situation in Kuochuang was entirely different five years ago. The brigade then comprising more than 200 families with more than 700 mouths to feed had only a little more than 1,700 mow of cultivable land, of which over 90 percent was saline and alkaline land. Where the land was seriously affected by alkaline grew no crops, not even weeds. Even the best land here, in normal years, yielded no more than a hundred catties of grain per mow and 20 catties of cotton per mow. Since the output was low, the masses lived a hard life. From 1950 to 1964, the brigade received State relief amounting to 1.07 million catties of grain in addition to more than a hundred thousand yuan.

Why is it that the brigade in more than ten years after liberation failed to effect any fundamental change in its backward state? It is mainly because renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his agents in Anhwei had enforced a counter-revolutionary revisionist line and wantonly opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The former local and hsien committees pursuing the capitalist road loyally carried out this revisionist line, seriously stifled the masses' revolutionary zeal, and hindered the rapid advance in production.

After the great call "for agriculture, learn from Tachai" issued by Chairman Mao, the poor and lower-middle peasants of Kuochuang who wanted to steadily follow the socialist road, were unwilling to live "on State supplied grain and relief money." They firmly demanded to march forward with the directive of Chairman Mao, rely on themselves, struggle hard, follow the example of Tachai, and build a socialist new village. However, the brigade's leadership group at the time was impure. Not only did they fail to lead the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to march onward, but they led people to engage in capitalist activities at the crucial moment of the severe struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. The whole brigade was shrouded in evil atmosphere and the collective economy damaged considerably.

In October 1964, Comrade Kuo Hung-chieh was transferred back to the Fuochuang brigade as Party branch secretary. With a strong will to change the feature of his native village and following Chairman Mao's great teaching "for agriculture, learn from Tachai," he visited more than 70 families of poor and lower-middle peasants, and listened to their views and demands from which he realized that the brigade's leadership power did not truly lie in the hands of poor and lower-middle peasants. He began to see that in order to lead the broad masses to follow closely Chairman Mao to make revolution and follow the example of Tachai, it is first necessary to solve the brigade's question of leadership group.

With the firm support of the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, the Party branch grasped the principle of struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. Guided by Chairman Mao's instruction that "the rectification movement is a 'universal Marxist education movement,'" it launched an intra-Party rectification campaign. It first organized the Party members to study Chairman Mao's brilliant works, "the three constantly read articles," recall bitter times of the past and think of the present happy days, and as the consciousness for the struggle between the two lines and for class struggle gained ground, to lift the lid of intra-Party class struggle, re-elect the brigade's Party branch, build a new leadership group zealous for revolution and closely knit with the masses.

With the cadres question basically solved, the brigade's Party branch, to raise the socialist consciousness of the masses, set out to get them organized for big debate on "whither Kuochuang"?--to follow the road of socialism or the road of capitalism? During the debate some said, "To become prosperous and rich, it is necessary to go into business," advocating

to give up farming for business. Others said, "To seek wealth, it is necessary to leave Kuochuang for some other place," holding that people must go elsewhere and taking a passive attitude toward difficulties. But, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants took the "three constantly read articles" and the example heroic deeds set by the poor and lower-middle peasants of Tachai who conquered heaven and earth as their guide, launched class education widely, refuted with their own experience the views that business should take the place of farming and people should go elsewhere. They held that to go into small business is to follow, not the road of socialism, but the road of capitalism and it is by no means a way to enable the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants to live a bountiful life; and that to go elsewhere means evasion of difficulties and is fundamentally incompatible with Chairman Mao's teaching. They resolutely said, "The mountain is opened by man and the track is beaten by man. Although Kuochuang is poor, its land infertile and its conditions unfavorable, it is a superficial phenomenon, but the most important thing is to have men whose minds are equipped with Mao Tsetung thought. If we would listen to Chairman Mao's words, rely on ourselves, build ourselves up the hard way, we surely can build a new Kuochuang of socialism."

After 15 days of heated debate, the way of thinking was unified, reaching the conclusion: following the road "for agriculture, to learn from Tachai" is the only correct way to changing the backward feature of Kuochuang.

"If Tachai Can Turn Its Mountains Into Good Land, We Can Get Rid of the Alkaline"

For long the Kuochuang brigade's development of production was mainly affected by two natural factors: saline and alkaline. Of the more than 1,580 mow of land affected by saline and alkaline, more than 220 mow were salt land. Such land is greyish black in surface. Neither weeds nor crops could grow on it; more than 600 mow were heavily alkaline land, its surface being white in color, growing some weeds but not crops; more than 700 mow were semi-alkaline land, on which some crops can grow where the alkaline is not heavy but young crops cannot grow where it is heavy. In order to solve this principal contradiction in the production struggle, and to find a way to control the alkaline land and improve its soil covering a wide area, the Party branch organized its personnel to cause an investigation to be conducted. At the same time, visits were made among the masses to find veteran poor peasants experienced in controlling the alkaline land. After some investigations and visits, initial experience was gained. First, the Party members and cadres held discussions to draw up measures for the control of alkaline and for unified thinking to be reached. When plans on controlling the alkaline and improving the land were published by the brigade's Party branch, mixed reception was immediately seen. The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, greatly elated, gave firm support. They said, "The foolish old man can remove the mountains and Tachai can turn the mountains into good land, we certainly can control alkaline." "Working hard for a few years, we give benefit to generations. Why don't we do it?" However, a handful of class enemies who were reactionary

by nature, jumped out to oppose frantically. A rich-peasant element said, "If you are destined to reach 7 feet, you can't expect to go 10 feet; if you are destined to be poor, you can't be rich," thus smearing the poor and lower-middle peasants' desire to control alkaline as "an ugly toad hoping to taste the meat of a crane--high hopes but a vain dream." Feeling utterly indignant, the masses mounted a severe attack on him. The sabotage of class enemies has also made those who doubted "whether this thousand-year-old saline and alkaline affected land could really be controlled" see clearly and increase their confidence.

Earlier in 1965, in accord with Chairman Mao's great teaching--"Poverty prompts one to change, action and revolution"--the poor and lower-middle peasants in Kuochuang brigade won the first battle in transforming the alkaline soil and improving the land. The poor and lower-middle peasants displayed the revolutionary spirit of "defying hardship and death" in this battle. Under the combat call--"Stop no work when there is a light fall of rain or snow, carry on when it is cold and the earth is frozen, march with big strides on the Tachai road, swear to change the outlook of Kuochuang"--men, women, the old and the young battled the whole day in the field. They cleared away the accumulated snow, broke the frozen earth, and turned over the soil to a deep depth. Many people's hands sustained injuries through concussion and their faces were frost-bitten but none complained. Sixty-eight-year-old poor peasant Ch'ao Ying-t'ang, whose hands sustained injuries through concussion when digging up earth, said to those who advised him to take a rest: "Shedding a little blood is nothing. I am far behind Chia Ching-ts'ai of Tachai brigade!"

The upper layers of alkaline soil were removed. The land was in a concave shape. The newly turned up soil was uncultivated. What to do? Chairman Mao says: "The masses are true heroes." After discussion the poor and lower-middle peasants devise two methods: (1) Bring in earth from the north canal 5 li away; (2) Bring in mud-bed earth from the villages. They went into action, using carts and flat-carts and manpower to carry earth to the field. A layer of good earth was spread over the newly turned up alkaline land. A sixty-four-year-old poor peasant woman named Liu Shih-hsia went home after visiting her daughter who lived 10 li away; instead of asking any gift from her daughter, she carried a basket of red earth and spread it over the alkaline land transformed by the collective.

This was the way the poor and lower-middle peasants in Kuochuang brigade, relying on their red hearts and bare hands, triumphed over the class enemy who made trouble and carried out sabotage on many occasions, resolutely overcame the pressures that prevented them from emulating Tachai, relied on their own efforts, waged an arduous struggle, fought for three winters and springs and won one victory after another in transforming the alkaline soil and improving the land by removing the upper layers of soil, changing the alkaline soil, turning up the soil to keep down the alkaline soil, and terracing the land to press down and leach out the alkaline soil.

Kuochuang brigade ran into some difficulties in the course of emulating Tachai and transforming the alkaline soil and improving the land. They resolved all these difficulties through self-reliance. In 1965 the cotton plants grown on the alkaline land that had been transformed were hit by waterlogging and wind damage; after the brigade members resisted the disasters and propped up the plants, they were in urgent need of additional manuring. Instead of asking aid from the State the brigade members voluntarily invested more than 1,300 yuan to buy chemical fertilizers. Additional fertilizer was applied to the cotton plants and a good harvest was won. In the spring of 1966 some brigade members experienced difficulties in their livelihood after the natural disasters. The Party branch mobilized the masses to overcome their difficulties through self-reliance. Party members and cadres were organized to take the lead in mutual aid and mutual relief and in tiding over the spring famine. Eight thousand catties of relief grain and 300 yuan relief funds allocated by the commune were returned to the State.

The great proletarian cultural revolution raised the consciousness of class struggle and line struggle on the part of the poor and lower-middle peasants in Kuochuang brigade. In accord with Chairman Mao's great policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," they threw themselves into the more extensive struggle to change nature, displaying sky-rocketing revolutionary vigor. Over the years they conscientiously implemented the 8-Point Code for Agriculture and, according to the brigade's production features, laid emphasis on water for irrigation, fertilizers, and good seed. They put in more than 70,000 man-days, and transformed all the 1,500 mow of alkaline land into fertile land. They dug 19 ditches, and filled up eight plots of marshland and low-lying land with a total area of 500 mow, involving 180,000 cubic meters of earthwork. Relying on their own strength, they sank eight wells. The first step was taken to solve the problem of resisting drought and preventing waterlogging. In order to change the phenomenon of poor soil and low yield, they laid a firm hold on fertilizers. A 50-man manure-accumulation team was organized to accumulate [illegible] compost manure. In 1969 the quantity of fertilizers applied averaged three cartloads of mud and miscellaneous manure, more than 10 piculs of nightsoil and 20 catties of chemical fertilizers per mow. They promoted scientific farming. A scientific experiment team was set up to make experiments. Good seed was in the main introduced to the whole brigade as regards cotton, winter wheat and kaoliang. They began to reform the farming system, and raised the percentage of land utilization. The multiple cropping index was raised from 120 percent prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution to 176 percent in 1969. Further, guided by the policy of "all-round development with great production as the key link," they developed multiple undertakings and planted fruit trees of various varieties in more than 150 mow. All this created better conditions for the development of agricultural production in Kuochuang brigade. Since 1966 the brigade's output of grain and cotton has risen year by year. Despite serious drought, per-mow yield of grain reached more than 500 catties and per-mow yield of cotton more than 100 catties during 1968; both grain and cotton topped the target set in the "National Program of Agricultural Development." Output in 1969 increased by more than 20 percent over 1968.

Let Mao Tsetung Thought Command All Families

"Sailing the sea depends on the helmsman and making revolution on Mao Tsetung thought." In emulating Tachai in changing their backward outlook Kuochuang brigade depended on the splendid "three constantly read articles." The great proletarian cultural revolution brought to a new stage Kuochuang brigade's mass movement for living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

With deep proletarian affection for great leader Chairman Mao the poor and lower-middle peasants in Kuochuang brigade voluntarily placing living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought in the primary position of all work, took reading of Chairman Mao's books as the prime want of life, beyond Chairman Mao's instruction as the highest criterion of action, regarded implementation of Chairman Mao's instructions as their sacred duty to revolution, and took it as their target of life-long struggle to become Chairman Mao's good fighters.

Under the guidance of Mao Tsetung thought they persisted in conducting education in the contrast between the new and old social systems and in developing recall-bitterness and think-of-sweetness activities in various forms. They aroused the masses to recall the class bitterness and national bitterness, to review the history of two-line struggle after the liberation, and to recall the solicitude shown by Chairman Mao and the Party. Further, "educational plot" and "educational pond" were kept in the brigade and exhibition of class education was held. On the eve of each important festive day, they took recall-bitterness meals. Through these activities the masses were increasingly inspired with a love for the new society, a determination to follow Chairman Mao in revolution, and a consciousness of living study and application of Mao Tsetung thought.

Equipped with Mao Tsetung thought, they persisted in revolutionary mass criticism, and repeated it regularly. They closely linked practice with the new trend of class struggle and severely criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist black goods such as "the theory of dying out of class struggle, "san-tzu i-pao," "four big freedoms," "work points in command," etc. Criticism of the "theory of dying out of class struggle" is integrated with the waging of severe class struggle and the struggle against class enemies. When criticism was made of "san-tzu i-pao," "four big freedoms" and "work points in command," the emerging capitalist trend was checked in time, thus the better enforcing the socialist labor administration and consolidating the collective economy. Through mass criticism, it has been possible to achieve: while one quotation of Chairman Mao was learned, one reactionary theory of Liu Shao-ch'i was criticized, the poison in one respect was cleaned, and one revolutionary viewpoint was established, thus quickly raising the masses' consciousness for struggle between the two lines.

As dictated by the needs of the situation, all types of Mao Tsetung thought study classes were held actively and regularly. As soon as a latest directive of Chairman Mao was announced, a study class for the new directive to be put into practice would be held. When lack of unity was noticed, a study class aimed to strengthen unity would be held. When family members were found to show selfish ideas, a study class for family members to struggle against selfishness and criticize revisionism would be held. Participating in those classes were white-haired old folks, as well as young children. Truly, "from old folks of 83 to young children, a family of three generations, attended class together." The wide emergence of family study classes made it possible for Mao Tsetung thought to further command all families, effectively promote the ideological revolutionization of the masses and cadres of the Kuochuang brigade and further elevate their realm of thinking. It enabled them to see and handle questions from the higher plane of Chinese revolution and world revolution, aroused their love for the country, love for the collective and devotion to the public, and helped new men and new deeds, "Red pairs," "Red three generations" and "Red families" emerge continuously.

What We Have Comprehended

It is a very rare thing in the area north of the Huai River that Kuochuang brigade has achieved so much in the short span of a few years. It fully demonstrates the infinite power of Mao Tsetung thought and testifies to the correctness of Chairman Mao's instruction--"Emulate Tachai in agriculture." The practice of Kuochuang brigade relying on the Tachai spirit for building the socialist new countryside tells us:

First, to change the backward outlook of the countryside it would be imperative to use Mao Tsetung thought to change one's mental outlook. Once grasped by the masses the great spiritual force of Mao Tsetung thought will be transformed into a great material force and will work wonders beyond one's imagination. So far as the natural conditions are concerned, Kuochuang brigade is far behind other brigades in the area north of the Huai River. The reason they are able to exert extraordinary efforts to change their backward outlook is mainly because they arm their minds with Mao Tsetung thought, bring the proletarian politics to the fore and think in terms of tilling land in the interest of revolution.

Second, to win victories in revolution and production it would be imperative to grasp the class struggle firmly. Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "Once grasped the class struggle will take effect." Since 1964 Kuochuang brigade has been firmly grasping the class struggle and making the socialist revolution in deep-going ways; because of this, their production has undergone rapid and marked changes. The relationship between revolution and production is one between the commander and the commanded. Only by grasping the revolution can we promote production and make the collective economy develop vigorously along the socialist road. Only by closely fitting in with the production reality and firmly grasping the class struggle and two-road struggle can we more effectively guide the masses to

stand high, think in terms of overall interests, look far, work in practical ways and win new victories in revolution and production.

Third, to lead the masses constantly forward it would be imperative to form a leading group that firmly carries out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. After the leading group go the masses. Kouchuang brigade's new leading group was built in the tempest of class struggle and two-line struggle. They took the lead in living study and application of Chairman Mao's works, resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, built close ties with the masses, took the lead in the struggle against the class enemy and the natural disasters, and fought "self-interest" in their minds. It is under the leadership of this leading group and through reliance on the masses that the new Kuochuang marching in the socialist direction and traversing the Tachai road has emerged.

Great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We must grasp the typicals." Kuochuang brigade is a model which has rapidly changed the backward outlook and built the socialist new countryside through self-reliance and arduous struggle during the "emulate Tachai" movement launched in Anhwei Province. At the moment, a mass movement for emulating Tachai, catching up with Kuochuang and topping the targets of the "National Program of Agricultural Development" is vigorously spreading throughout the province. Since the whole province learns from Kuochuang, what should Kuochuang do? Kuochuang's poor and lower-middle peasants have given this resounding answer: "Kuochuang will learn from Tachai and from the whole province, closely follow Chairman Mao, and make revolution forever." In the great 70's they are adopting a combat posture and leaping forward to seize new and still greater victories in the spirit of continuing the revolution.

Fact-Finding Team of:

Anhwei Provincial Revolutionary Committee
Suhsien Administrative District Revolutionary Committee
Hsiao Hsien Revolutionary Committee

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A Sharp Struggle to Smash the Capitalist Road

- Criticizing the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's towering crime of sabotaging the movement of agricultural cooperation in 1951

by
Chung Chih (仲智)

(Hung-ch'i [Red Flag], No. 3, Feb. 28, 1970)

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "We have a rural population of 500 million, so the situation of our peasants has the most important bearing on the development of our economy and the consolidation of our state power."

Following our nationwide victory, the fate of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the socialist system depended on whether the peasants were led onto the socialist road or onto the capitalist road. A sharp struggle has all along been going on between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line on this extremely important issue.

Our great leader Chairman Mao's consistent thinking is that agriculture should take the road of socialist collectivization.

In 1943, Chairman Mao called on peasants to "be organized" to take the path of cooperation, profoundly pointed out: "This is the only road to liberation for the people, the only road from poverty to prosperity and the only road to victory in the war of resistance."

In March 1949, Chairman Mao strikingly pointed out in his report delivered at the second plenary session of the 7th CCP Central Committee that the scattered, individual agricultural economy "can and must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop toward modernization and collectivization; the view that they may be left to take their own course is wrong."

Chairman Mao brilliantly foresaw the great significance of agricultural cooperation in the entire socialist cause in China. He pointed out: "If there is only a state owned economy and no cooperative economy, it would be impossible for us to lead the individual economy of the laboring people step by step toward collectivization, impossible to develop from the new democratic society to the future socialist society, and impossible to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat in the state power. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will also commit extremely serious mistakes."

Chairman Mao strikingly put forward: whether we should take the socialist road of agricultural collectivization or the capitalist road of letting the individual agricultural economy take its own course involves an extremely important issue in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and in building socialism. He also refuted the right opportunist

mistakes of overlooking and belittling agricultural collectivization with the penetrating insight of Marxism-Leninism.

This proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao's has guided millions upon millions of poor and lower-middle peasants to embark upon the bright socialist road of agricultural collectivization.

After land reform, the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants, guided by the brilliant thought of Chairman Mao, brought into full play their gigantic enthusiasm for socialism, and resolutely took the path of mutual-aid and cooperation.

In the spring of 1951, the poor and lower-middle peasants in some old liberated areas of Shansi set up agricultural cooperatives according to Chairman Mao's consistent teaching and on the basis of mutual-aid teams. The emergence of this new socialist phenomenon, which represented the orientation for the 500 million peasants of the whole country, constituted a great revolutionary action taken by the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Liu Shao-ch'i, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab hiding in the Party, frantically opposed the proletarian revolutionary line set forth by Chairman Mao in his report to the second plenary session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, and went all out to promote "the protection of private property" and the development of the rich-peasant economy in the countryside in a vain attempt to let the capitalist spontaneous forces develop and run rampant in the rural areas and to lead the peasants onto the capitalist road. This revisionist line represented the interests of the bourgeoisie who vainly attempted to vie with the proletariat for leadership over the peasants.

As soon as the great People's Republic of China was established, Liu frantically mapped out a big plot in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolution line. He ganged up with other renegades such as Po I-po to oppose the agricultural cooperatives in Shansi, undermine the nationwide movement of mutual aid and cooperation in agriculture, and engage in a series of counter-revolutionary criminal activities. Looking back on this soul-stirring period of history in class struggle can help us understand the struggle between the two lines even more profoundly.

In early March 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i's agents in North China, acting on Liu Shao-ch'i's instruction, sent a so-called work team to Shansi. Under the pretext of "investigating" the situation of mutual aid and agricultural cooperation, the work team collected materials which could be used to undermine the mutual aid and agricultural cooperation movement.

Afterward, with Liu Shao-ch'i pulling the strings behind the scenes, a so-called "forum" to discuss mutual aid and agricultural cooperation was held. It was at his "forum" that Liu Shao-ch'i's agents in North China, acting on their master's orders, launched a vicious attack on Chairman Mao's correct line for mutual aid and agricultural cooperation and also on the mutual aid and agricultural cooperation movement, then in its initial stages in Shansi.

They said "conditions were not ripe" for establishing agricultural production cooperatives and "rash actions would certainly disrupt production" and that those cooperatives which had been set up "could only be regarded as samples displayed in an exhibition" and "should not be publicized" in a vain attempt to stifle the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants' revolutionary actions in taking the road to socialism.

Liu Shao-ch'i vainly attempted to suppress the surging national movement for mutual aid and agricultural cooperation by crushing all agricultural production cooperatives in Shansi, thus achieving his criminal goal of taking the capitalist road. To carry out this plot, he came out into the open, making sustained efforts to shape up counter-revolutionary public opinion by writing articles and "comments" on various "reports."

On May 7, 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i raved at the national conference on propaganda work that even though some "8, 10, or 30" cooperatives had been established, it did not mean they were able to take the socialist road. He slandered those agricultural production cooperatives which have been established on a trail basis as "isolated islands in the sea."

Chairman Mao warned long ago that he who despised the cooperation movement would "make serious mistakes." But, Liu Shao-ch'i wildly shouted, "He who calls on the peasants to organize agricultural cooperatives and launches this mass movement is likely to make serious mistakes," which was an open opposition to Chairman Mao's instruction.

In June 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i and Po I-po jointly wrote the vicious article "Strengthening the Party's political work in the countryside" vigorously advocating the capitalist road. This big poisonous weed, which was revised eight times by Po I-po and whose final version was touched up and approved by Liu Shao-ch'i, was carried in five papers and periodicals, thus spreading poison across the country.

On July 3, 1951, Liu Shao-ch'i in his "comments" on a report submitted by Shansi province slandered the road of socialist collectivization taken by the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants as "a kind of erroneous, dangerous, and utopian ideas of agricultural socialism."

What was the reason for Liu Shao-ch'i's frantic hatred for the movement of agricultural cooperation? "This is because this counter-revolutionary, proceeding from his class stand of counter-revolution, was very much afraid that the taking of the socialist road by the 500 million peasants under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the CCP would foil his plot to restore capitalism. The word "dangerous" used by him reflected the fact that the bourgeoisie and all the reactionary forces were afraid of the revolutionary actions of the peasants in forming the cooperatives; and by using the world "utopian" he completely negated the socialist road and he wanted to make the capitalist road a "reality" in China.

Whether we should take the road of agricultural cooperation pointed out by Chairman Mao or Liu Shao-ch'i's capitalist road is a life and death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

On July 1951, the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i personally made an anti-socialist, anti-agricultural cooperation, anti-Party, anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, and anti-Mao Tsetung thought "report" before a group of students of the Marxist-Leninist college. That was a mad, barefaced black program advocating the capitalist road.

What is the essence of that black program?

1) In this black program, Liu Shao-ch'i openly advocates letting the spontaneous forces of capitalism go rampant in the countryside. He raves, "these spontaneous forces can neither be checked nor avoided" and any attempts to prevent the spontaneous forces from going rampant are "adventurist, leftist, and destructive" and let such matters as "hiring farm hands and going it alone in agriculture take their own course" and the protection of the rich peasant economy should be regarded as "one of the long-term policies."

All these counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacies serve solely the interests of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants, and are intended to pave the way for the restoration of capitalism.

If we follow this revisionist path of Liu Shao-ch'i, a great polarization would inevitably take place in the countryside. Landlords, rich peasants, and capitalists would once again lord it over the working people, and ride roughshod over the masses of the working people who would once again fall in the abyss of suffering, as if they were still under the old society. They would become slaves, work like horses and oxen, and taste a second dose of misery, and the political power won by the proletariat would be lost. Thus, China would once again return to the beaten track of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. Chairman Mao points out: "If the rural front is not occupied by socialism, it will certainly be occupied by capitalism."

After land reform, the peasants were given land. They brought into full play their enthusiasm in production. This kind of enthusiasm was reflected in the movement of mutual aid and cooperation, as well as on the individual economy. Chairman Mao's proletarian policy is to actively, yet prudently, guide the peasants' enthusiasm toward mutual aid and cooperation, to bring about, step by step,the socialist transformation of the whole of agriculture--the realization of cooperation--and to eliminate the rich peasant economy and the individual economy in the countryside so that all the rural people will become increasingly well off together."

In order to thoroughly eliminate the system of exploitation, destroy the root of poverty, and throw off poverty, the broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants resolutely took the socialist road in line with Chairman Mao's great teachings.

The broad masses of poor and lower-middle peasants throughout the country put up firm resistance and waged a resolute struggle against the criminal activities of Liu Shao-ch'i and his accomplices in undermining

agricultural cooperation. They unswervingly marched forward along the broad path of agricultural cooperation as pointed out by Chairman Mao, and struck back at the sabotage activities and plots of this gang of renegades.

2) In this black program, Liu Shao-ch'i tried his best to peddle the notorious revisionist reactionary theory of "mechanization first and then cooperation, and to undermine the movement of agricultural cooperation. He tried a thousand and one ways to propagate the fallacy that the "first step" is to bring about the "nationalization of industry," and that only then is it possible to "adopt steps to achieve agricultural collectivization." He repeatedly ranted: "Only by nationalizing industry will it be possible to supply the peasants with large amounts of machinery, and then to nationalize all land and achieve agricultural collectivization."

This kind of shopworn "theory of productivity only" was inherited from old line revisionists such as Bernstein and Kautsky. If we do things according to his fallacy, China's socialist agricultural cooperation, socialist industrialization, and worker-peasant alliance will certainly be undermined, China's socialist revolutionary cause hampered, and capitalism restored.

The history of class struggle showed us that although the handful of renegades and revisionists from Bernstein and Kautsky to Chen Tu-hsiu and Liu Shao-ch'i lived in different times, they all invariably peddled one fallacy: that if a nation's capitalism is not highly developed, if its productivity has not reached a high level, and if its agricultural economy remains scattered and backward, it is impossible to carry out socialist revolution. All of them sought to deny completely the great revolutionary role of the masses of people as well as the great role of revolution in changing production relations and developing productivity.

Great leader Chairman Mao severely condemned this kind of counter-revolutionary revisionist fallacy of Liu Shao-ch'i. In his report: "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation," Chairman Mao wisely pointed out: "In agriculture, with conditions as they are in our country cooperation must precede the use of big machinery (in capitalist countries agriculture develops in a capitalist way)" and "divorced from agricultural cooperation, socialist industrialization cannot be separately carried out."

Chairman Mao further points out that only by bringing about agricultural collectivization, will it be possible to supply the majority of funds and marketable grain needed to realize industrialization in the nation, to provide light industry with raw material and provide the heavy industrial products, farm machinery, electric power, chemical fertilizer, and light industrial products with major markets, and further promote the development of industrialization. On the other hand, industrialization also unceasingly accelerates the development of agricultural collectivization and modernization.

This is the only correct policy Chairman Mao put forward for the realization of socialist transformation in agriculture by creatively developing Marxism-Leninism according to actual conditions in China. The great thought of Chairman Mao smashed to smithereens Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary plots, and triumphantly Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary plots, and triumphantly brought about the rural socialist high tide in China.

3) In this black program, Liu Shao-ch'i also openly and malignantly suggested postponing the realization of socialism to the infinite future. This was one of his tricks to oppose China taking the socialist road and to try in vain to guide the nation onto the capitalist road.

In his great work: "On New Democracy," Chairman Mao pointed out that during the two revolutionary stages--the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution--"The first provides the conditions for the second and the two must be consecutive, without allowing any intervening stage of bourgeois dictatorship." The founding of the People's Republic of China signifies the ending of China's new democratic revolution and the beginning of socialist revolution.

But, Liu Shao-ch'i claimed that only by going through a period of "at least 10 years, probably 15 or 20 years"--the so-called "new democratic stage," and "the stage of consolidating and developing industry and agriculture"--will it be possible to "take steps for socialism" and "adopt measures for the development of agricultural collectivization."

According to this "theory" of renegade, traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i, China, starting from 1951, would need more than 50 years to take steps to enter the stage of socialism and step by step achieve agricultural collectivization, because the so-called "new democratic stage" was said to last 10 to 20 years, followed by the so-called "stage of consolidating and developing industry and agriculture," which would also need at least 20 years.

According to this timetable, the adoption of steps to enter the stage of socialism and achieve agricultural collectivization would have to be pushed back by half a century. This means that steps can only be taken at the beginning of the 21st century.

How vicious and pernicious this plan was! Not long after the founding of the People's Republic of China, Liu Shao-ch'i set forth a program calling for exercising the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie for half a century in a vain attempt to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and once again subject the several hundred million Chinese workers and peasants to exploitation by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. Is not the Soviet revisionist renegade clique and its lackeys vainly attempting to carry out this criminal program in China by calling home Liu Shao-ch'i's soul?

4) In this black program Liu Shao-ch'i also tried his best to peddle his fallacy that "everything centers around economic construction." What was his so-called "economic construction"? This had nothing to do with

building socialism and developing socialist production. He called for "the overall development" of the so-called five kinds of economy (state-owned economy, cooperative economy, private capitalist economy, individual economy, and state capitalist economy) so that there would be "substantial changes" in their basic relations.

He openly opposed the thesis put forward by Chairman Mao in his report to the second plenary session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China that the basic contradiction in China is one between the working class and the bourgeoisie. He opposed Chairman Mao's teaching that to strengthen the people's democratic dictatorship is the fundamental task for the development of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He opposed the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie as well as the socialist revolution.

Liu Shao-ch'i's allegation that "no change will take place" was a sham. It was aimed only at preventing the capitalist economy from undergoing the "change" of socialist transformation. Liu Shao-ch'i's advocacy of a parallel "development" of the five kinds of economy by having them go through the process of "combining two into one" is impossible.

There is, between socialism and capitalism, only the question of who prevails over whom. Liu Shao-ch'i's purposes were to allow capitalist economy a license with which to gain an unbridled expansion. Such license would result in the socialist state-owned economy losing the leadership and in the bourgeoisie re-capturing the lifeline of the state's economy. In short, it was intended to "develop" capitalist economy and suffocate socialist economy. To carry out this kind of "economic construction" of his, China inevitably would take the wrong road of capitalism, and once again become a colony of imperialism.

He also did his utmost to spread the theory of the dying out of class struggle, and advocated such fallacies as "don't offend capitalism," "the landlords possibly will approve of socialism," and so on and so forth. These can totally lay bare the ugly features of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i--who opposed socialism, advocated capitalism, and vainly attempted to restore the dictatorship of the landlord and the bourgeoisie!

At the time that he sneaked into the Party Liu Shao-ch'i was already an alien element filled with the extremely reactionary ideas of the landlord class and the bourgeois comprador class. He defected to the enemy as a hidden traitor and scab as early as during the period of the first revolution. He frantically opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line at many crucial junctures in the history of the revolution, carried out counter-revolutionary acts. He is a running-dog of imperialism, modern revisionism, and the Kuomintang reactionaries and is guilty of myriads of flagrant crimes; he is the chieftain of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique within the Party, and the general agent of the capitalist forces for restoration.

The great leader Chairman Mao dealt a resolute counterblow against the series of counter-revolutionary plots of Liu Shao-ch'i and his accomplices in undermining the agricultural mutual-aid movement and opposing socialism, and smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's dream of taking the capitalist road. The "Decision (Draft) on Agricultural Mutual-Aid and Cooperation" formulated under the personal sponsorship of Chairman Mao in December 1951 enabled the peasants of our country to march resolutely forward along the socialist road. The general line advanced by Chairman Mao in 1953 for the Party to adopt during the transitional period, which incorporated the realization of socialist transformation of agriculture into the general line, incisively criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's reactionary fallacies such as "the consolidation of the new democratic system," and further indicated the bright road of socialism for the hundreds of millions of peasants. The epoch-making report "On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation" and the extremely important introduction and many notes in the book "The Socialist Upsurge in China's Countryside" written by Chairman Mao in 1955 thoroughly criticized Liu Shao-ch'i's right-deviating opportunist--that is, revisionist--line, and guided the socialist upsurge in the great countryside of China in advancing vigorously and healthily.

In these brilliant documents, Chairman Mao has developed Marxist-Leninist theory on the socialist transformation of agriculture with genius and creativity, and formulated the line, principle, and policy for the socialist transformation of agriculture--thereby totally smashing the sinister plots of Liu Shao-ch'i both theoretically and in practice, and enabling the socialist transformation of China's agriculture to advance victoriously in the direction indicated by Chairman Mao.

"Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause." The renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and his accomplices will never go against this logic. After their plot of undermining the agricultural cooperatives went bankrupt, they were not reconciled to their defeat. They continuously changed their counter-revolutionary tactics to push their counter-revolutionary revisionist line of opposing socialism and restoring capitalism in a thousand and one ways, and stubbornly resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. In 1955 when the great socialist upsurge in the countryside came, they slashed back the agricultural producers' cooperatives throughout the country. After the people's communes were set up throughout the country in 1958, they viciously attacked the people's commune, and openly advocated "san-tzu i-pao". In the course of the socialist educational movement, they again dished up a bourgeois reactionary line which was "left" in form but right in essence, in a vain attempt to restore capitalism and change the dictatorship of the proletariat into that of the bourgeoisie.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao has thoroughly exposed the counter-revolutionary crimes of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i and company and has declared the total bankruptcy of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. It is a great victory for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung thought.

"But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists." Many facts have shown us that, even with the excellent situation in revolution and production, the handful of class enemies have not fallen asleep. They are always resorting to different tactics and waiting for opportunities to launch counterattacks against the proletariat and socialism and engage in sabotage in the political, ideological, economic, and other fields.

We must bear firmly in mind Chairman Mao's teaching "Never forget class struggle," constantly maintain a high revolutionary vigilance, pay close attention to the new trends of class struggle, use invincible Mao Tsetung thought as the weapon, hold high the red banner of revolutionary mass criticism, resolutely deal blows at the sabotage activities by the class enemies, criticize all capitalist tendencies and the bourgeois ideology, further eliminate the remaining poisonous influence of the renegade, hidden traitor, and scab Liu Shao-ch'i's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and fight for the consolidation of the socialist front and for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

* * *

Stanislavsky's "Supreme Task" Is a Theory Removed of Class Content (Excerpts)

- Refuting Sugenoi's revisionist fallacy -

Reproduced from Literary and Art Fighters, Organ of "Haguruma Za" Troupe, Japan

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Synopsis:

This article sternly refutes the reactionary fallacy of the Japanese revisionists who follow the Stanislavsky "system" advertized by the Soviet revisionists, and exposes that such fallacy is in the service of the American and Japanese reactionaries. The article points out that Chairman Mao's illustrious article "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" has long ago broken the back of the Stanislavsky "system" and that the direction for all revolutionary literary and art workers is to form one with the worker-peasant masses as advanced by Chairman Mao.

Recently, scared out of his wits by the sharp spearhead of the Shanghai Revolutionary Mass Criticism Group's criticism and repudiation of the Stanislavsky "system," Sugenoi, the dramatist in the employ of the Miyamoto revisionist clique, pieced together and published in the Cultural Review a lengthy and stinking article entitled "On the Stanislavsky System." The chief purpose of this article is to explain that because Stanislavsky discovered in his late years the so-called "supreme task," he had in his late years transformed himself and become the standard bearer of socialist realism.

Marxist-Leninists are consistently of the view that literature and art of whatever kind is part and parcel of the superstructure and that irrespective of whether or not you are aware of it, it is "a product reflecting certain social life in human minds," a manifestation of thought, and has its political character and class nature.

The core of the question at issue is what kind of thought, the thought of which class.

In his article Sugenoi asserts that the "system" is inseparable from the dramatic thought and the theory of dramatic creation. In the next paragraph, he also says: "Stanislavsky spent the greater part of his late years in experimenting with the staging of a large number of plays, principally Shakespeare's Othello and Moliere's Tartuffe so as to discover the new laws governing the method of histrionic art creation and to raise the dramas of the Moscow Grand Theater to the world level."

This thoroughly exposes that Sugenoi is of the view that socialist realism is principally based on Othello and Tartuffe. Let's ask, are Othello and Tartuffe ,created by the bourgeoisie ,socialist realism?

Like Stanislavsky, Sugenoi is at most a bourgeois democrat who fights feudalism for capitalism and is confused with those proletarian heroes who fight for the destruction of exploitation and classes on earth and for the building of communist society from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom. Deep in his heart, the former ranks above the latter.

Using the Theory of "Combining Two into One" to Oppose Socialist Realism

The bourgeois revolution had already been accomplished in Russia, and victory had also been won in the socialist revolution to seize political power from the bourgeois hands. With political power in its hands, the proletariat waged a violent struggle against the bourgeois activities to restore capitalism on the one hand and pushed ahead with socialist construction and the leap toward the communist society on the other. During this historical period, Stanislavsky described Othello and the bourgeois classic works written by Chekhov and others as revolutionary and continued with the staging of them at all times.

During such a historical period, literature and art of socialist realism should mold in practical life those new heroes of the vigorous workers, peasants and other laboring people whose goal was to set up a communist society that had not been realized by mankind and who fought for the further consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship and socialist construction, thus giving them a more concentrated and typical look, glorifying their victory, pointing out their bright future and inspiring their fighting spirits. Only such literature and art could be appropriately described as progressive, revolutionary literature and art.

It was Stanislavsky who adopted the attitude of feigning compliance with but was sharply opposed politically and ideologically to this revolutionary line in literature and art.

After the revolution, at the time of the emergence of bourgeois dramas based on "Left" formalism and mechanical materialism with Trotsky and Meyerhold as the center, Stanislavsky was one of the vanguards who flaunted the revolutionary banner of opposing them, stated that Shakespeare was "the greatest realist in the world," and attempted to undermine from the Right socialist realism with the bourgeois classic works of Moliere and the bourgeois works of critical realism of Ogol, Ostrovsky and Chekhov.

In 1922, Stanislavsky told one of his disciples: "I am of the view that Shih-ch'ien-p'u-chin (史记等全), Ogol, Ostrovsky and Chekhov are inseparable from the contemporary era. Any desire to push these ideological giants of Russia into the sea absolutely cannot be done."

Wasn't this his self-confession, an expression of his deep-seated love of the Russian bourgeois life of the past, of his stubborn refusal to

remold his own literary and art thought with Marxism and to transform art into something that truly served the teeming worker-peasant masses?

Not long after the seizure of political power, Lenin said: "The use of the strength of the masses to compel the bourgeois experts to serve us is difficult, but possible." (Collected Works of Lenin, Chinese Edition, Vol. XXIX, p. 50) Lenin was also for mobilizing the bourgeois men of letters who did not adopt the counter-revolutionary attitude to serve the building of socialism, and in this process remolding them and truly liberating them. What was the above statement by Stanislavsky if not an expression of his stubborn resistance against this proletarian policy of Lenin's?

No Construction Without Destruction

At the time of discussion the creation of proletarian culture in his discourses on the question of cultural legacy, Lenin pointed out that Marx was the most outstanding model in this connection. Lenin said: "Having explored, discussed and criticized all things established by human thought and having examined them one by one in accordance with the practice of the workers' movement, he arrived at a conclusion that could not have been made by those people restricted by bourgeois narrow-mindedness and fettered by bourgeois bias." (Collected Works of Lenin, Chinese Edition, Vol. XXXI, pp. 253-254) This means to say that only by abolishing bourgeois culture can a brand-new proletarian culture be established. This is the correct road to inheriting cultural legacy.

Chairman Mao, the most outstanding Marxist-Leninist of the contemporary world and the great leader of the people of the whole world, teaches:

"There is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction."

Up to the present, the new and old revisionists still distorts Marx's appraisal of Shakespeare with the metaphysical viewpoint, saying that it will do by combining bourgeois literature and art and proletarian literature and art from two into one.

However, by way of his revolutionary practice, Marx had set for us an example in the handling of bourgeois culture by the proletariat. Marx defeated what Hegel and others advertized as idealistic dialectics that explains the world but is not prepared to transform the world, critically absorbed it, and created dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This is not combining two into one, but the use of the proletarian world outlook to overthrow the bourgeois world outlook, that is, one divides into two, thus leading to the transformation of opposites, giving rise to a qualitative leap and bringing into realization an unprecedented revolution in the epistemology of mankind. This is also a question of fundamental nature toward the establishment of proletarian literature and art. We certainly must create Japan's proletarian drama along this line.

But instead of learning humbly from Lenin and the worker-peasant masses, Stanislavsky was intoxicated with his past fame, and he devised all ways and means to enable his bourgeois art to prolong its feeble existence. In order to combine socialist realism of the proletariat and bourgeois realism based on "human nature"--the two things that are fundamentally opposed to each other--into one, he racked his brain to fabricate the method of so-called "supreme task" and schemed to corrupt socialist realism from within by using such bourgeois dramas to advertize a new type of socialist realism.

The Stanislavsky "System" Is the Static Viewpoint, Metaphysics

Toward his late years, Stanislavsky desperately brought to completion a series of "systems" represented by so-called "supreme task" and "physical behavior" for the purpose of escaping from the criticism and repudiation of his art by the millions of workers and peasants who were building socialism in powerful waves. By exhibiting such a fig-leaf of the "supreme task," he vainly attempted to realize craftily his wolfish designs in transforming the world according to his own bourgeois world outlook.

Some people spread the view that this "system" was a success because it was applicable to socialist realist dramas as well as to Sea Gulls and Othello.

This was an out-and-out lie. Let us take a look at how he molded in 1927 the image of the villain in Armored Train.

He pretentiously said: "At the moment, your hearts are still not burning with anger against them. But from now on, you certainly will experience a sense by your willingness to expose thoroughly, profoundly and truthfully the comprador patriotism of these pseudo-Russians!" But after entering the stage of concrete rehearsal, he began to talk nonsense saying: "People harboring hostility toward progress are also human beings after all, and in their hearts there lies latent the human characteristic to negate their own nature and character." And so on and so forth, thus changing classes and class struggle into the struggle between the good people and the bad people.

He once said: "In order to portray truthfully the enemy, it is necessary to penetrate deep into the interior of the enemy." (Underlines the writer's. Same below.) He also said: "To proceed from self--this is correct.... If you want to understand correctly self, then do it yourself, and you must completely and deeply change yourself into the part you play. To do this, it is necessary to make full use of all knowledge accumulated by the actors of the troupe, all skills and talent of the individual, and the duties which a citizen should completely and consciously carry out in the aspect of contemporary stage art." What he said here was very simple. He meant to say that there must always be the filthy stuff of the bourgeoisie as well as the noble quality of the proletariat in the person of an actor, that these two things should co-exist peacefully, and that there was no need to reform oneself through carrying out the struggle between the two kinds of world outlook.

There is only one way to create the villains in the Armored Train and to serve the building of socialism in the true sense; and that is, instead of drifting on the surface, one must sincerely plunge into the heat of the struggle of the worker-peasant masses, learn Marxism-Leninism in the struggle, get rid of one's equivocal political thoughts and feelings, learn from the worker-peasant masses their bitter hatred against the class enemies, give concentrated and graphical portrayal to the antagonistic class in actual existence, and mercilessly expose its treacherous, ugly and insignificant nature. The fundamental question of creation is definitely not to "proceed from self" and change oneself into the part in question, but first of all to closely link oneself with the hatred of the worker-peasant masses against the bourgeoisie, their determination to carry out the class struggle and their confidence in victory in the process of creation and stage acting. Only by resolving this fundamental question can one thoroughly expose the part one plays.

Contrary to Stanislavsky's suave talks, the practice of the "system" showed that instead of using the class "theme" of this play Armoured Train--the conviction in the victory of socialism--to arm the actors, he adopted the method of pragmatic creation--"combining two into one" by calling off the struggle between the bourgeois world outlook and the proletarian world outlook--to promote their antagonism to the play. This is the static viewpoint and metaphysics that negate the development of things and changes.

The road summed up with genius by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the international proletariat, in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" gives the Stanislavsky "system" tit for tat. These two kinds of literary and art theory and methodology exclude each other like water and fire. The backbone of the Stanislavsky "system" has been broken by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" long ago.

In the eyes of the Stanislavsky "system," however, there were also plays that were entirely non-contradictory, and they were the plays of Chekhov and Shakespeare that must affirmatively be sent to the museum. They spared no effort in staging these plays because such plays were precisely their favorite plays.

The world outlook of these plays is imbued with the same spirit as what is called the theory of human nature and bourgeois democracy. What is called "supreme task" is "the yearning for a better life," "human greatness and indignity" and things of that kind. Consequently, the actors also "take self as the point of departure" instead of taking the workers and peasants as the point of departure. Instead of toppling their own bourgeois ideology and arming themselves with the proletarian ideology, they make "merits and demerits co-exist in their persons." Instead of going deep into the reality of the fountainhead of creation, they hold that "drama and physical movement form the fountainhead of creation and the 'supreme task' would be found provided mimicry is practiced." Instead of transforming themselves into

proletarian artists in the service of the people, they want to "transform themselves into bourgeois 'artists' of good breeding." They hold that reason is "not so important as perception, sub-consciousness and inspiration," and advocate combining two into one. In other words, they do not acknowledge the contradiction and struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and do not propose to solve contradiction with the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They only explain but do not go to reform reality. They have enlivened bourgeois methodology.

This skillful weapon of Stanislavsky's played a wicked role. It fettered and poisoned many people in dramatic circles who originally wanted to make revolution and serve the people in subjectivity, and turned them into tools for restoring capitalism.

Stanislavsky desperately clung to his "system" with ever greater obstinacy, and he put the greatest strength in staging once again the classic plays.

Due to the victory of the socialist system of ownership of means of production, the Russian bourgeoisie lost its capitalist material foundation, but it usurped and entrenched itself on the art front and utilized Stanislavsky as its vanguard to create public opinion for subverting the proletarian dictatorship. Under the protective wings of the capitalist roaders within the Soviet Party, the bourgeois art ingeniously staged according to his "system" used the artistic character of the bourgeoisie to oppose and smother the new-born drama of the proletariat, praised the spirit of those who were dissatisfied with the proletarian dictatorship and encouraged them to oppose frenziedly socialism, thus opening up the Khrushchev road in the Soviet Union. This is the class and political essence of the Stanislavsky "system."

The Disciples of the Stanislavsky "System" of Yoyogi Are the Accomplices of US Imperialism

In Japan, Kurahara, Sugenoi, Yada and their like who style themselves as "Marxists" recently assumed all of a sudden the look of the authority and lauded the Stanislavsky "system" to the skies. This is the reprint of the international revisionist trend of thought--"the social product of a historical era"--that need not be feared. We shall temper ourselves better and make progress in this struggle.

After the publication of the "Joint Communique of Japan and the United States," US imperialism and the traitorous monopoly capital of Japan, which find themselves in an impasse, rely on bourgeois democracy and bourgeois individualism to dominate the ideological and cultural spheres. They devise all ways and means to benumb the people in a vain attempt to persist in wilfully and arbitrarily carrying out their policy of "war and oppression." One of their ways to attain this goal is to conquer those self-styled "Marxist" cultural workers with the bourgeois ideology and to dominate by force the cultural sphere through these people. This is a wise policy and the trump card of the American and Japanese reactionaries.

Kurahara and others were advocates of the revisionist line in literature and art before the war. They consistently advocated the Stanislavsky-type of combining proletarian realism and bourgeois realism into one. After the war, US imperialism utilized Kurahara as claw in the hands of the potter. People of the Japanese dramatic circles who are disciples of the Stanislavsky "system" also consistently cut themselves off from the worker-easant masses after the war. Having sunk into the parliamentarian quagmire, they prettify the rule of US imperialism in Japan and uphold such rule. Furthermore they all the time frenziedly oppose the proletarian drama and the leadership of the proletariat over drama. Yada and his like have become rotten to the core. They are so shameless as to call on the people to capitulate to the American and Japanese reactionaries, saying that "the Chekhov formula must be used to wage struggle against the 'Security Treaty'" and that "there will be no socialism without going through the contemporary era." Could you have thought that there is in this world a contemporary era without class character? This is precisely the reactionary thought of the rule of the Japanese people by US imperialism. Yada has finally degenerated into a running dog of the American and Japanese reactionaries.

In our Japan, some people in dramatic circles are resolved in the subjective to create revolutionary plays to serve the people, but the greater part of them are the petty bourgeoisie by origin. Therefore, the Stanislavsky "system" tightly seizes hold of this weakness of these people in dramatic circles, and they are rendered unconscious as though with an anesthetic. In this sense, this system has played a most wicked role. On what occasion has the drama stage controlled by the Stanislavsky "system" been one with the mass struggle of the Japanese people against the United States and monopoly capital to drive forward the actual struggle? Isn't this the time for the artists loyal to the people to learn humbly from the far-reaching significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution in China?

Since we want to wage struggle against the bourgeois dictatorship of the American and Japanese reactionaries, we must build a national democratic culture with proletarian literature and art as the core of leadership that is armed with the thought of proletarian dictatorship and revolution by use of violence. The people are bound to be aroused by the existence of contradictions. The plot of the American and Japanese reactionaries has gone bankrupt. Guided by Comrade Mao Tse-tung's brilliant article "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" which has most correctly pointed out the road that only by forming one with the worker-peasant masses can the intellectuals serve the revolution, the promising revolutionary workers in dramatic circles of Japan have seen through the designs of the American and Japanese reactionaries and smashed the Stanislavsky "system," the supreme master of revisionist drama. They have thus created for the first time in the history of Japan brand-new proletarian plays that are entwined into one with the struggle of the worker-peasant masses like the "cog" and the "screw," and are putting the bourgeois plays of the American and Japanese reactionaries in a predicament. Millions of workers are fighting heroically with their production centers as bases. In the history of Japan, the

revolutionary mass movement of the various classes and strata with the working class as the center for curbing war with revolution and initiating revolution by means of war is rising under the leadership of the Japanese Communist Party (Left). Consequently, we must first devote our whole effort to and bend our minds on this revolutionary mass movement. We also must mold well the heroes of the contemporary proletariat by giving them a concentrated and typical character. This is the road toward creating Japan's proletarian drama and socialist realism. Only by practicing Comrade Mao Tse-tung's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" in Japanese society can we truly deal a fatal blow to the culture of the American and Japanese reactionaries and revisionism. We certainly must, by way of struggle and self-remolding, completely and thoroughly wipe out the influence of US imperialism's bourgeois democratic thought and the Stanislavsky "system" in our country and the ranks of national democratic culture.

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